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BLACK AND WHITE
IN
SOUTH EAST AFRICA

MAURICE S. EVANS

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SOUTH EAST AFRICA

A STUDY IN SOCIOLOGY

BY

MAURICE S. EVANS, C.M.G.

WITH A PREFACE BY

LT.-COLONEL SIR MATTHEW NATHAN, G.C.M.G.

LATE GOVERNOR OF NATAL


WITH A MAP

SECOND EDITION

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TO

MY WIFE

ELIZABETH F. EVANS

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

SINCE issuing the first edition of this book I have had the opportunity of travelling through the Southern States of the American Union and have published my impressions and opinions in a work entitled "Black and White in the Southern States from a South African Point of View".

This further experience has on the whole strengthened me in the opinions stated in the present volume. I found that although for fifty years the Negro in the United States has had legal political equality guaranteed by the Federal law, his influence to-day in politics is a negligible quantity, the white man makes the laws as he did before emancipation. I found that although by Federal law he is entitled to equal accommodation in all places of public resort and entertainment, he dare not enter any theatre, hotel, or restaurant, and he must ride in the Jim Crow car. Although for half a century he has had opportunities of education up to the High School and University, and no restriction has been placed upon his employment in skilled callings, he is still the manual labourer. The racial peace promised by some as the result of legal equality of opportunity has not been realized, racial animosity seems to grow from more to more. After fifty years' experience the position in the United States may be described as tragic.

If this is the case in the Southern States, in which the Negro population is relatively decreasing, and only numbers twenty-nine per cent of the whole, is the same policy likely to solve the problem in South Africa where

the black man is five times as numerous as the white, is increasing at a greater rate, and where the physical and moral force of Africa is behind the black millions?

It seems clear to me that the policy of equal rights in the eye of the law, and which ignores racial differences, will not meet the case. The white man must take up his burden, and with his long political experience place himself at the service of the black man, and with patience, foresight, and justice, map out the course he must follow.

This does not mean that he dare flout the desires of the native. He must take pains to study his aspirations and his troubles, and try to see things from his point of view. To try and ensure this I have advocated in the present volume a Council of Europeans to study race relations, and native Councils to voice native opinion. I now go further. I think the time is ripe for the election by qualified natives of a limited number of Europeans to represent the native people in Parliament.

This book was published in the first year of the Union of South Africa. In the world-wide struggle that is now going on many signs are apparent that the relations of the black, white, and yellow races will never be the same as in the past. The Japanese are our allies. Indian princes and people have generously come to our assistance, Indian troops are fighting side by side with Colonials, black men from Africa are in the trenches fighting against white men closely akin to ourselves. When the war is over this question of race and colour will come to the front with greater insistence than ever before—it will be the question of the century.

The war has clearly shown one thing. Notwithstanding many failures in practice, the nations have realized that the British people have tried to do their duty, and live up to the ideals of consideration and justice they have professed. Ireland, India, Egypt, and

South Africa have shown by their actions that they do appreciate the efforts that have been made in their interests.

It is true that in South Africa there has been armed rebellion against the Government. To many this seems ingratitude of the basest kind, and astonishment is expressed that a people who have been treated so generously should fail in their loyalty.

But we must remember that the older inhabitants of South Africa are on the one hand ignorant of the trend of modern ideas, living in comparative isolation, and on the other that they are a high-spirited people, intensely proud of, and devoted to their race and traditions—and also that it is only a short fourteen years since they relinquished their independent existence as States under pressure from those who for a century they had regarded as their oppressors.

To me it is a wonderful fact, and one full of hope for the future, that such a people should by a large majority have adhered to the letter and spirit of the promise given at Vereeniging, and with sorrow in their hearts taken the field against their compatriots, and crushed their rebellion. All honour to those who, led by General Botha and General Smuts, faced this cruel task, and upheld the honour of their race. The policy of generosity has been amply justified.

During this time of confusion and conflict, the native people have stood fast by their allegiance. They have voluntarily contributed to the funds raised for the men in the field. Their leaders have refrained from pressing for attention to their grievances during the time of the war. Their loyalty has been undoubted, and had they been called upon to take up shield and assegai for the defence of their King, willingly would they have responded.

Although we have not solved the racial question and often failed to meet our responsibilities in the past, yet

the policy of consideration and justice has again been justified.

As to the future in South Africa I am more hopeful in 1915 than I was in 1910. We have passed through the fire, and I think been purified. The men who could face all the troubles, confusion and complications among their own people, aided by those who were called upon to exercise a remarkable amount of trust and self-control, will I trust not fail when called upon to deal with the question of the century.

MAURICE S. EVANS.

HILLCREST, BEREA RIDGE,
NATAL, *Dec.*, 1915.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

MR. MAURICE EVANS claims as his qualification for dealing in this book with the relations between Black and White in South Africa his keen interest in the subject. Those who, like myself, have had the opportunity of talking over with him some of the difficult problems involved, will certainly allow him this qualification. His readers will also soon attribute to him that sympathy with the natives, both Christian and under tribal law, as well as with his fellow colonials, which is essential to any real understanding of the relations between the two peoples, and they will at the same time appreciate the value of his knowledge so evidently derived from much careful study and from considerable personal experience.

I should like to think that among those readers will be a large proportion of the thoughtful men of South Africa on whose action in Parliament and on Provincial and Municipal Councils or on whose influence on their fellow citizens, exerted through the press or the lecture room, the treatment of the native question in the future mainly depends. The book should be read also by that important section of earnest people in this country and their representatives in the House of Commons who claim to sympathize with all natives on the grounds of a broad humanity of feeling which the perusal will help them to believe is shared by many of their fellow countrymen in South Africa. For those concerned in the government of natives elsewhere in the great black continent and in the countries to which Africans have been transplanted the volume contains much that is usefully suggestive.

The black races of Africa have in the last few hundred years had opportunities of development on various lines.

In the central parts it is only comparatively recently that this has been affected from outside. To the north they have been subjected to the Mohammedan influence of the Arabs. The descendants of the negroes who crossed the Atlantic as slaves have now behind them many generations of life in contact with a Christian civilization. Those who to-day rule in Hayti and Liberia, after receiving the impulse of that civilization, have been largely left to themselves in their subsequent development. The governments of the European West African colonies have through the greater period of their existence been endeavouring to train the natives on European lines—to make them competent in agriculture and trade, in crafts and professions—with no fear of their competition with the ruling race which in the tropics can administer but cannot colonize. In Africa south of the tropics where the European thrives the effect of the development of the native on his social and other relations with the white man has constantly been kept in view by the governments concerned and has led, at any rate in some cases, to that development being checked rather than encouraged.

The directions in which under these varying conditions the native has advanced most satisfactorily from the point of view both of his own happiness and of the welfare of the white man with whom he has been associated and the means to adopt further to impel him in these directions are subjects of study requiring the closest attention of the white races interested and of the countries responsible—of the United States, of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Portugal. To secure that the experience of each governing nation should become available to the others in the form most convenient for comparison and most likely to lead to definite conclusions I at one time suggested that the relations between the races should be studied by an international commission, and I still believe that an investigation of this nature

should be undertaken. In the meantime the publication by individual students of monographs on special aspects of the subject helps greatly its general consideration by the ideas they suggest and the discussions to which they give rise.

The underlying idea of the present work is that there are essential mental and spiritual, as there are obvious physical, differences between the Abantu and the European, and that it will be more advantageous to both races if the natives are consciously developed on lines indicated by a study of their characteristics than on the assumption that their intelligences and natures are those of white men. To this idea there will probably be general assent. Most people will also agree that while the white man must decide the broad principles on which the native is to be ruled, the latter must be protected against being governed in the interests of the constituents of a white Parliament. Few will dissent from the view that the native should be trained up to a generous measure of local self-government. Mr. Evans makes it clear that his opinion that this self-government should never include participation in the government of the white man is not held by the majority in the Cape Colony province. He knows also that it is not acceptable to the more advanced supporters in this country of native rights. On the other hand, the permanent allotment to the natives of the area now reserved for them and the addition to those areas of the land their expansion will require in the near future, involved by Mr. Evans' great principles of race separation, are contrary to the general land policy of Natal and the provinces north of the Orange and Vaal rivers. In formulating his scheme he has therefore not hesitated to diverge from the paths of those who look upon the problem either from the too close standpoint of a much-affected colonist or from the too remote one of a distant sympathizer with native aspirations. As to the future govern-

ment of native areas he appears to accept the broad principles embodied in the schedule to the South Africa Act of Union which provides for the ultimate inclusion in the Union of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuana-land, while as to details he has naturally a strong leaning towards the recommendations of the Natal Native Affairs Commission of 1907 of which he was so useful a member and towards the Act of the Natal Parliament framed on those recommendations. He would further educate the natives freely and give missionary effort full scope, always provided that the mass of the Abantu are kept in separate areas from the bulk of the Europeans so that the advancement of the former may not operate towards their closer association with the latter. As regards this plan of segregation, carried as far as practical conditions of life will allow and constantly more completely applied, the opinions of readers will doubtless differ. For my part, I find it difficult to get away from the author's fears that contact between the races at an increasing number of points would lead not only to miscegenation which between persons widely differing in origin produces a weak progeny, but also to degeneration in the white community due to the putting aside of all physical labour, and bitterness in the Abantu who by restriction to that labour would be permanently maintained in a semi-servile position.

Towards the unfortunate result of miscegenation the author would be wholly generous, and, while he would rigorously prevent the Indian population of South East Africa being added to from outside, he would recognize the rights of that population to enjoy the full fruits of their industry directed into channels most beneficial to the whole community.

The book attempts to come to grips with the difficulties of a vastly important subject. It has a high purpose and I wish it a great effect.

MATTHEW NATHAN.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME four years ago, just after the native rebellion in Natal of 1906, I took my courage in both hands and ventured to write a pamphlet dealing with the native problem in Natal, for the consideration of my fellow colonists.

At that time the people of the colony were roused to a consideration of the native question by the unfortunate happenings of the time, and this interest resulted in the appointment by Government of the Natal Native Commission of 1906-7, of which Commission I had the honour to be a member. It was presided over by the Hon. H. C. Campbell, then Judge President of the Native High Court, and the members included representatives of both the European races of South Africa, colonists born in South Africa, intimately acquainted with the natives, and speaking their language; and one at least of whom, Colonel H. E. Rawson, R.E., C.B., might be regarded as representing the Imperial view of the question.

The Commission travelled all over Natal and Zululand, even to the inner recesses of the land, and took the evidence of 301 Europeans and 906 natives, either personally or by delegation. So highly did the natives appreciate the opportunities afforded them of expressing their views, that at least 5500, including chiefs and headmen, Christian natives, some of whom were exempted from native law, attended, and, on the whole, spoke, as they were invited to do, with remarkable freedom. It is believed that no similar local inquiry has collected such

a mass of carefully prepared evidence, all of which was noted and abridged by a highly qualified officer, and thereafter returned to many of the witnesses for revision and signature.

The Report, which was signed by all the members of the Commission, was of the most outspoken character, neither evading nor condoning the actions of the past, made a considerable impression on the people of the colony, and attracted a good deal of attention in other parts of South Africa, and even in Britain.

The attention thus directed to the question led the Government of the day to introduce into Parliament the Native Administration Act of 1909, under the provisions of which, as recommended in the Report of the Commission, a Permanent Secretary of Native Affairs was appointed, together with four District Native Commissioners subordinate to him, and the establishment of a Native Council consisting of the four District Commissioners and four non-official members. The duties of the District Commissioners were to act as fathers and advisers to the people, accessible to them at all times, to guide and encourage them in effort likely to be for their true advancement; the functions of the Native Council were to revise all existing legislation and regulations affecting the natives, to consider the existing taxation measures, to advise Government in all matters calculated to lead to their betterment, and especially to consider and report upon all proposed legislation, such report to be laid on the table of the House before it was considered by Parliament.

The freedom and fearlessness with which the Commission criticized the past action and inaction of the Government, the open manner in which they admitted the grievances of the natives and allocated blame, have been freely used by many who were no friends of the colonists to formulate and support charges of harshness against the Europeans of Natal, and maladministration

and lack of consideration on the part of the Government, and this has caused pain to many of us who know both sides of the question.

One such occasion was the visit of Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., to Natal, when in the presence of the writer and others he made such accusations against the colonists, based upon the conclusions of the Report, as made it necessary to point out how little he knew of the inwardness of the question with its complexities and difficulties, and whilst those who were faced with it in their daily lives did not resent, nay welcomed, fair criticism, some measure of sympathy was due to them from those of our own race who were free from the immediate stress and strain of the burden.

These people do not realize the arduous and intricate problem which lies before the people of South Africa in dealing with the native races of the sub-continent; they will not understand, and it almost, at times, seems as if they did not want to understand, that though there have been faults both of omission and commission in the past, there has also been, on the part of many South African colonists, a full realization of their heavy responsibilities to the natives, and a willing desire, if they could only get a clear lead, to shoulder those responsibilities however onerous; to earnestly take up the white man's burden.

And in particular, they do not know the kindly relations existing in all parts of the colony between hundreds, nay thousands, of Europeans and their native neighbours or dependants, relations fully recognized by the native, and shown by his readiness to come to his European friend for help and guidance in his difficulties.

Surely it should count to the colony for righteousness that seven men should sign a document, telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, hiding nothing, extenuating nothing, even though it meant a striking and forcible indictment of their methods in the past.

And it should be remembered that the people of Natal, instead of denying the allegations of the Commission, or trying to refute their conclusions, unpalatable as they must have been, accepted them, perhaps with some humiliation, but set themselves to put things right and make a fresh start. Let our critics remember also these things, and give us credit for our attempts to work out, in the interests of both races, the difficult—perhaps insoluble—problem we are called upon to face. They reserve all their sympathy for the black man. We, too, have sympathy for him, but a sympathy we are striving to fit in with reason by acquiring knowledge, and by hard and close thinking, while theirs, too often, is sympathy lacking reason and without knowledge—pure sentimentalism.

Now again I take my courage in my hands, and at this time, the beginning of the Union of South Africa, endeavour to put this, our problem, as it appears to me, and try to speak to a wider audience than before, for though of more immediate concern to us who dwell in this land amongst an overwhelming mass of black men, the question is of Imperial, nay world-wide importance and significance.

For this reason it is that I have entered into details which may seem almost puerile to my fellow colonists, such as a description of the country and the natural surroundings of the Abantu. But I wished, if possible, to bring a picture of our environment and that of the native before the mind's eye of those who had never been in the country ; to make the picture complete.

Life [and the conditions surrounding it are ever changing, and we so easily forget what was once so obvious and apparent a decade, a quarter of a century ago. What would not we give now for a contemporary picture, consciously drawn, giving an observant man's idea of the life of black and white forty years ago, their inter-relations at that time, and his views of the future ?

I hope so to set down my observations and the deductions therefrom that they may serve for comparison in years to come as a picture of the actual position of affairs in this the first year of South African Union.

And I want to remember that the problem is not only how we are to govern and meet all our obligations to the black man, but how, in the face of our tangled environment, we are to do justice to those of our own race, especially those who are to take up the burden when we are gone. I want to try and find out what effect the contact of black and white is going to have, not only on the black man, but on those of our own race in South East Africa, to forecast, if it be possible, the dangers of such contact, and forecasting, endeavour so to rule our lives as to prevent or minimize the dangers which undoubtedly lie before us.

Some seven years ago I had the privilege of visiting New Zealand, and travelled through the length and breadth of the land. I was much impressed with what I saw there. The beauty and the fertility of the land, its freedom from the pests so common here, the universal economic well-being of the people, the ease with which they could make social and legislative experiments as practically one people, with common aims and ideals, all struck me forcibly.

For some time after landing I could not help contrasting their lot with that of their fellow-countrymen in this land, in that they were free from this our great problem, and could set themselves to the development of the country, to the economic, social, and moral improvement of their own people. I saw that the Maori was still in some portions of the land, though the South Island was free from his presence, but even so, he is only as one in thirty to the whites, he does not constitute a problem as the black man does here. Rather the New Zealanders of European descent regard him as a curious appendage, one of the picturesque assets of the country, to be

pointed out to visitors, and view him and his peculiarities with the greatest tolerance. Were the proportions of white to Maori the same as in South East Africa between Abantu and European, this good-natured tolerance would not be the lasting attitude.

But the frame of mind with which I first viewed the people and their country did not last, and before I left the shores of that beautiful island, the Britain of the South Seas, I felt that though our more difficult and involved environment here at times made one almost despair, and long for a land problem-free, yet it had its compensations, and that in manfully facing our troubles we might derive a virtue impossible under easier conditions—that our responsibilities were also our privilege.

MAURICE S. EVANS.

HILLCREST, BEREA,

DURBAN, *Nov.*, 1910.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Preface to Second Edition | vii |
| Preface to First Edition | xi |
| Introduction | xv |
| CHAPTER | |
| I. Vula' Mlomo | I |
| II. The Country and its People | 22 |
| III. Tribalism—The Old Socialist and the New Individualist | 65 |
| IV. Missions and Education—The Altruism of the White Man | 92 |
| V. Land—The Need of the Black Man | 126 |
| VI. Labour—The Demand of the White Man | 154 |
| VII. What the Black Man thinks | 184 |
| VIII. The Effect on the White Man | 206 |
| IX. Past Policies and Present Theories | 237 |
| X. The Asiatic and Coloured Sub-Problems | 283 |
| XI. For the Future | 310 |
| Index | 329 |

MAP.

South Africa *At the end of the Volume*

"I think that a right use of life and the true secret of life is to pave the way for the firmer footing of those who succeed us."—GEORGE MEREDITH.

"For God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

CHAPTER I.

VULA' MLOMO.

As I sit on my verandah on the Berea Ridge this lovely Sabbath day, with the sunlit Indian Ocean in the foreground, and behind the rolling grassy hills, with lines of dark bush following the stream sides in the hollows, and with varied cultivation on the slopes, three distinct sounds come to my ear.

The nearest is that of a piano lightly touched, and a youthful voice singing in low tones hymns Ancient and Modern. From the native quarters at the foot of the wooded garden the monotone of Abantu singing reaches me, accompanied by the rhythmic beat of heavy feet stamping in unison. Further away among the banana plantations, comes the lighter reiteration of the Indian tom-tom.

The problems of the country voiced, the races who occupy this fair land brought vividly before the mind through the ear.

To the eye, indeed, only one race and its achievements would appeal. Take away the subtropical trees and shrubs, the piercingly African scarlet of the Kaffir boom, the palms and bananas, the poinsettia and bougain-villia, and what remains?—the visible impress of man upon his surroundings here is overwhelmingly European. Excepting for one or two matters of detail the whole might be situated on the shores of the English Channel, in British Columbia, or New Zealand.

The lower slopes of the Berea are covered with cottage and villa residences, the oldest plain—a place to dwell in—the newer ambitious, with tiled verandahs and stained glass doors, copies of the suburban; but all show the

taste and aspiration of Western Europe in various stages and degrees.

Below, the town proper, in the centre the huge town hall, no whit different to what the final flowering of municipal life would be in Europe or America; broad streets threaded by electric trams, huge stores filled with the products of European skill, public buildings indicating the usual and familiar activities of a modern European city, surrounded again by the harbour filled with shipping and equipped with all the recent inventions of European science.

The whole originated in the brain of the white man. He laid out the town, he planned the buildings, he imported the goods in the stores, he drew the specifications for the tramways, he installed the electric power and light, the whole is for his comfort, advancement, convenience.

The stranger sees black men in the streets, he is struck by the barbaric splendour and mighty physique of the ricksha-pullers, but nowhere is there any evidence of the work of the black man, nowhere any evidence that he participates in any of the comforts, conveniences, amenities seen on every hand.

And yet in this colony of Natal there are eleven black men, natives of the soil, for each white man. Even here in its principal city there are nearly 17,000 black men as against 30,000 Europeans, of all ages and sexes. Probably the adult male black population in the town at any one time is double that of all the white men.

And though the plans were drawn and the skilled work done by white men, the whole of the manual labour given to fill the swamps, lay the trams, build the stores, load the goods, was by the black man, of whose labour there is no trace in the finished work.

Over the hills to the west, in the folds of the land, in all kinds of picturesque nooks, in the locations of the Umlazi and Inanda, is the home of the black man, and there you find evidence of his works. But so hidden

away, so much a part of the land itself, that you may stand on the edge of a huge valley a thousand feet above the stream at the foot, a valley full of the homes of the Abantu, and only the trained eye can see any. An enclosure of wattles for the cattle, a few beehive shaped huts neatly made of grass, and brown like the surrounding veldt, a little cultivation, is all the impress the black man makes on his natural surroundings; it all so blends with the colours of the grass and bush that it is little wonder the land seems uninhabited, though, in reality, full of the most vigorous human life.

This is the true home of the black man—Kaffirland—the place to which his thoughts turn when working in the white man's service, the place to which nothing on earth will prevent his return if taken with bodily sickness or nostalgia. Here he lives as his fathers lived, enjoying to-day and thinking not of to-morrow, courting the girls, drinking beer, and gazing on the beloved cattle.

And only a short twenty miles away over the hills, less than that by the short cuts the native knows, is the town hall, the electric trams, the stores, the theatres, the complicated, urgent, strenuous life of the white man.

Into it the black man comes, his liquid native name dropped, as the white man cannot pronounce it. He becomes Jim, Tom, Dick, and serves the white man. He sees strange sights, works among complicated machinery which does wondrous things, without understanding it or wanting to understand it; he waits at tables decked with silver and crystal, and loaded with food drawn from all the quarters of the world; he pulls a ricksha and has strange glimpses of the white man's inner life; he nurses the baby in a little cottage home. But only for a few months: the desire comes on him, and no wage offered, no sense of gratitude, will keep him away longer from the kraal by the rushing Umlazi, from the girls, from the cattle.

I know of no contrast in human life more suggestive than one which may be seen in Durban almost any day.

The open space in front of the new Town Hall ; on one side that noble pile and around it buildings and gardens devoted to the many desires of our twentieth century civilization. Electric trams glide, passing and repassing in all directions, motor cars and carriages carry well-dressed ladies to theatre or ball, the open space filled with the men and women of our day. And across it file four or five native girls headed by a small umfaan ; with the exception of a piece of semi-transparent salempore, kept in place by a few beads, they wear the dress of the girls of Tyaka, and in body and mind are much the same. Shyly they cross the square, a little frightened at all the stir, but not without a certain timid dignity, and disappear into a quieter part of the town to stay with a " brother " until to-morrow, when, bundle on head, with erect step, they climb the hills and cross the streams which lie between the whirl and glitter of European civilization—in which they appeared for a moment in such incongruous fashion—and the little brown kraals on the quiet ridges above the streams of the 'Ndwedwe.

Still in my memory lives my first visit to the home of the Abantu, the wild and picturesque Inanda location, the home of the Qadi tribe. On a botanical tramp I visited the home of that veteran botanist, Mr. J. Medley Wood, A.L.S., now Director of the Botanical Gardens, Durban, who, thirty-five years ago, lived in an isolated spot on the tablelands of the Inanda overlooking the rugged valley of the Umgeni. Arriving in the evening with the dark shades closing round, and from the dim valley, borne by the wind, the faint weird far-away and unrecognized sounds of natives calling in the depths ; the little house surrounded by tall gum trees and dark clumps of bamboos seemed a speck of civilization almost whelmed by the mysterious masses of barbarism one could feel all around. Later, here and there on the hill slopes and in the deeper valley, little firelights twinkled, showing the kraal sites of the Abantu. My imagination was strangely impressed by stories of the Zulu country

then ruled by Cetywayo at the height of his power, and especially one tragic tale of the total disappearance on a misty evening from a home in a similar locality of a little white child who was swallowed up in some mysterious way, lost among the natives and never heard of again, presumably killed by a witch doctor for *muti* otherwise unobtainable. The sighing of the night wind in the high gum trees, the creaking of the tall dark bamboos, the lone fires in the far distance, with the occasional far-carried call of a native representing thousands unseen yet felt, stamped into my mind an impression of the black man which is still fresh to this day.

It is now a little over seventy years since the first effective occupation of Natal by the white man. Then it was that the white-tented wagons of the voortrekkers, after their long journey over the high inland plains, came to the edge of the Drakensberg range, and these pioneers saw stretched below them what seemed another world. Down the mountain passes rolled the wheels, and in taking possession of the new land the Afrikaner first came into contact with the Zulu. Settled on his farms in the uplands of Klip-river and Weenen, he called upon the native to do the laborious part of his pastoral and agricultural work, to herd his sheep and cattle, to drive his wagon, to plough his fields. The native responded, and became hewer of wood and drawer of water to the strange white man who took the land.

Later on came Britons, singly or in organized companies, from over the sea, and again the black man was summoned to do the heavy work in building towns, in fetching and carrying, in growing sugar, coffee, tea, under the superintendence and for the behoof of the white man.

From neither pastoralist nor agriculturist, builder nor trader, Briton nor Boer, did the Abantu learn much or change his mode of life. Still he lived in his grass hut, still he followed the agricultural methods of his fathers, gathering his scanty crops from land ill-cultivated till it refused to yield more, then abandoning it for another virgin plot.

He made no attempt to follow the example of the white man in the improvement of his cattle, he made no attempt to make money like the white man by opening a store, he saw and wondered at the complicated life of the intruder, but followed the paths of his fathers. Beyond some appreciation of the comfort of clothing in cold weather, and the gradual change of blanket for kaross, and plough for pick, his art and cultivation remain much in the same stage as when Tyaka overran the land.

And the government of the white man leaves him in heart untouched. Still he is a polygamist, giving his daughters in return for cattle, still devoted to his tribal life and hereditary chief, still believing in and dreading witchcraft. The white man comes and plans, schemes, builds, bringing in more goods, more appliances, ever developing ; the black man remains, increases, persists.

It is this great passive power of persistence that makes our problem to-day. The Red man, the Polynesian, the Maori, unable to withstand the breath of the white man and the change in environment he brings, wither away—the black man persists. New conditions are introduced, they change him not ; new ideas, he wonders and goes on his way ; new diseases arrive, he still increases in numbers. The reports of district surgeons notwithstanding, one has but to look at the physique of the ricksha-pullers, the plump comely forms of the strings of native girls walking through the streets, the absence of anæmic or of malformed among them, to recognize we are dealing with a race of exceptional physical power and virility.

Changed they are and still changing, and of these changes I shall have more to say—they are part of the problem. But we shall be starting from utterly false premises if we do not understand at the outset this wonderful power of persistence in the face of changed environment.

Hence there had been no problem.

But a problem there is, a problem full of the most vital interest and significance, a problem which is in process of

being worked out here in South East Africa, but which applies to all Africa, and which will recur under different aspects wherever a strenuous European people, imbued with the desire to keep their race intact and pure, and intent on the utmost economic development, live alongside a conservative one at a lower stage of culture and yet withal virile and increasing in numbers.

A world drama is being enacted in South Africa, part of the great drama of human life. We are in the midst of it, playing our part, and most of us do not know it.

Hitherto in South East Africa, the governing powers have never set themselves to give this great question the really serious thought it demands. The native has generally and principally been regarded as a factor in the economic development of the country, and a very unsatisfactory one at that, a person who was loath to come out to work, and even when he did, demanded a higher rate of remuneration than his primitive service was worth, who was unreliable and could not be depended upon for continuous service, but wanted to get back to his kraal as soon as he became of value, and who never returned. The Governments reflected the current opinion of the people. And in addition, at intervals, often without apparent reason, and at most inconvenient times, he went to war or rose in rebellion, and it cost much money and the unpleasant necessity of raising loans to conquer or suppress him.

The problem will not be solved by treating the native solely as an economic factor, or by the rifle.

It might be thought that those who had lived among the natives all their lives, devoting themselves to their service in order to convert them to Christianity, would have thought out the whole problem, and would have shown a clear leading to those who would have the practical work of putting it into operation. As I will try to show when dealing with Missions, I believe a new spirit and a broader outlook in their work is animating some of the missionaries in these later days, but hitherto they seem to have been so engrossed with their primary

objects of bringing a knowledge of Christianity to their people that they have not had time to give thought to the problem of their future under the new surroundings introduced. And often, I am afraid, the apparent hopelessness of their efforts has taken the heart out of them. Again, in many cases, their work has kept them in isolated corners of the land, and although they knew the natives around them and their immediate surroundings, such isolation militated against a broad view of the situation. It will probably be answered by missionaries that sociological study forms no part of their work ; to bring men to Christ is their all in all. Granting this, I only wish to point out that philanthropy has not in the past helped much to a wide and all-embracing view of our problem.

The preservation of order, the encouragement to work, the teaching of Christianity, all have to bear on our question, but none alone will solve it.

Though little has been done to really study our problem, I know that, deep in the hearts of many in South East Africa, this question has been smouldering. A grave dissatisfaction with the present position is ever with them, they feel they have a heavy responsibility to the native, and they know not how to justify themselves. They feel that to use their labour, to shoot them down when recalcitrant, even to convert them to Christianity, is not the whole that is demanded of them. Feeling thus these men put their sense of responsibility into practical shape, and in their everyday dealings with the black man are scrupulously fair, tolerant to his prejudices, helping him in his difficulties. The relations of such men with the natives are indeed pleasant to witness, they are the salt of the earth to the Abantu population among whom they live. They are those who, in the absence of any helpfulness on the part of the Government, and in spite of the selfish attitude of the baser sort, have kept the relations of black and white clean and sweet, and have, without knowing it, prevented many a disaster. But the wholesome and antiseptic relations of these men with the

natives has only been personal, and they have felt, I know, the hopelessness of the situation as a whole. Some of them have felt, at times, so depressed by the apparent hopelessness of the outlook as to feel regret that they ever came to South East Africa, and even to consider the desirability of leaving it for a country free from our complex racial questions. Fortunately for South Africa, though their insight is beyond that of the many, so is their courage, and though realizing what may be, they stay to see it out. Once or twice I have been startled when circumstances have impelled to an intimacy not usual, to find, deep in their hearts, far below the surface, foreboding about our future they would only disclose to those likely to understand, and an anxiety to see the right path which is almost pathetic. I feel that in such men is our hope, and if called upon to make effort or sacrifice for what they feel right we may ever depend upon them.

It is a common thing among optimists to hear the statement made that this country is going to rival, in population and prosperity, the other great self-governing colonies of the Empire, and during our times of expansion and general well-being such a strain of thought is implied in general conversation. A favourite subject of after-dinner or platform oratory is the theme of the possibilities of the country, and such phrases as "the brightest jewel in the British Crown," and "a white man's country," are the looked-for peroration to speeches on such occasions. But in the minds of those who think, to those who really see life in South Africa as it is, and see it whole, in the hearts of the men whom I have tried to portray, there is, deep down, the knowledge, feeling, or instinct, that until we can more clearly see our way on this great question, any such expressions, though evoking rounds of unthinking applause, are of little meaning or value, and meantime they grope for more light.

Sir Matthew Nathan, whose experience of backward races in other parts of the Empire is deep and extensive, when Governor of Natal, took an intense interest in our

problem, visited and held meetings among the people, and by his sympathy, help, and wise counsel did much to inaugurate the new departure under the Native Administration Act of 1909 by which District Native Commissioners and a Native Council came into being. In a late utterance, just before leaving South Africa, on the eve of Union, realizing that this was a question intimately affecting not only South Africa and the Empire, but also the great Republic of the West, he suggested the appointment of an International Commission to investigate the relations of black and white in the various countries in which they come into contact. As I understood Sir Matthew, his idea was that the Commission should collect information from all sources, investigate on the spot the actual results so far of different lines of policy, and of varying methods of administration, not necessarily to formulate rules of conduct or governmental methods applicable to all—but for each to learn from the experience, successes, and failures of others how best to deal with our own problems. A wise suggestion indeed, and one that might well be taken up by our South African Government. The probability is that the proposal would be welcomed by other Administrations, puzzled, and groping in the dark as all are. In any case, the Report of such a Commission should have a high scientific and educational value. Even if on attempt it was found impossible to obtain co-operation from other Governments, our problem is so insistent, that a visit of investigation by a chosen body of qualified South Africans to the Southern States of the Union, the West Indies, and say Liberia, would be of the utmost value to us in South Africa. We want an intimate knowledge of our own environment, but we want more light from whatever source, and if it was found that our own people and conditions were so dissimilar that we had little to learn or adopt, it is quite possible we might prevent mistakes being made.

Of late years, since the publication of the Report of the South African Commission, much more interest has

been taken by the colonial public in our natives. Following on the appearance of that Report came the unfortunate rising in Natal, and then the appointment of the Natal Native Commission and the issue of their Report. Committees for the study of native affairs have been formed in Durban and Johannesburg and have been the means of disseminating information and focussing attention on matters affecting the native population. The immediate effect of the Report of the Natal Native Commission was the passing by Parliament of the Native Administration Act already referred to.

All this interest has resulted in the ventilation of the question and led to the formation of many theories, hopeful and hopeless, theoretical and practical, wise and unwise, theories regarding representation, taxation, labour, land, segregation, and many others, with the most important of which I propose to deal later on.

And will all this talk and writing and thinking solve the problem? The phrases "The solution of the native question," certain given methods which will "solve the problem," are on many lips. But is there any solution in which the term is thus used? Personally I confess I do not think so. When we have thought until our brains are weary, made experiments resulting in partial success or failure, and the years have passed, we shall have acquired some experience and knowledge, but that will probably be all. We white men, with our common race consciousness, common ideals, a binding history and literature, still are groping in the dark in regard to our own social problems. How little likely we are to solve, once for all, the difficulties of our relationship, ever changing as it is, to a race so unlike our own, it takes but a little thought to demonstrate.

At best we may discover a working hypothesis for to-day and possibly to-morrow, tentative, to be reconsidered and altered as experience dictates and as conditions change. Much that we do must be of the nature of experiment. We are dealing with human nature, but human nature on such a different plane to our own.

Though we may never solve, and though to our children's children shall the problem go down, it must be faced ; and there are conditions of mind we can predicate as absolutely essential to the task.

The first is negative, and means an attitude of suspicion towards many of the generalizations current in South East Africa relative to the black man. These generalizations have become current and accepted as standards, often because they saved troublesome investigation and thought, often they were almost true at the time they were evolved, oftener still containing a half truth, but utterly false and misleading in the universal application which is given to them. Nothing has done more to prevent a true appreciation of the position than the constant reiteration of these misleading commonplaces prefaced by the phrase : " You know what a Kaffir is ".

Truth we want, and truth in respect to fact is often hard to get. Prejudice, slackness, mental apathy, the common desire to appear to know, with the equally common desire to impart, all hinder our investigation. A strict scientific test should be applied, and only such facts passed into circulation and use as fully satisfied such a test.

In putting our knowledge into practice in administration, in framing legislation, we are called upon to strive to the utmost to attain what is perhaps the impossible, to put ourselves in the black man's place, to think with his brain, to see with his eyes, to feel his emotions. To this the black man himself can help us but little ; his life is in the present ; how yesterday's circumstances affected him he may be able to tell, how the pictured environment of to-morrow may be regarded he leaves to to-morrow's experience. Though vocal enough on ordinary topics, his strong emotions are subconscious and inexpressible, and are only subsequently revealed in action or inaction. He is ever on the watch to please those in authority, and his " Yes " may often really be a " No ".

Even to those who speak his language as their own,

who have lived all their lives in daily contact with the black man, there seems a chasm they can never cross. In discussions of measures affecting natives in the Legislative Assembly of Natal there were often as many opinions as there were native experts. The effect of a given law on native life and how the native would view it was certain to draw forth opinions differing in essence. A friend of mine, born in Natal, speaking Zulu fluently, who had never lived apart from the natives and thought he knew their innermost minds, confessed after the native rebellion of 1906 he felt as ignorant as a newcomer to the land.

It is so difficult to detach oneself from the point of view of our race and look at things with the eyes of the other man. We see him surrounded by what, to us, would be conditions of intense discomfort, and we feel impelled to cleanse, disinfect, put things straight, and having done so in energetic European fashion, we expect recognition and gratitude, whilst all the time the native was quite satisfied, and not in the least bothered or bothering about it, and wonders why we should interfere. The position thus gets askew. We feel very proud of ourselves; we have effected salutary reforms, and hope for visible acknowledgment of our unselfish and altruistic endeavours, when perhaps really, if we probed to the bottom of things, we should find we had only been salving our consciences for our own relief. And the native, of course, did not recognize that.

Our inability to put ourselves in his place will not be wonderful to those who have tried to get at the ideas on non-material questions with some of those of our own race or races closely akin to our own. Even when speaking a common language there is a strain in trying to get at the conceptions of one whose life has been cast in a narrow sphere. Attempts with some of the peasantry of Donegal and Connemara are in my mind, and qualifies the disappointment at failing to realize the subconsciousness of the Abantu.

But the attempt must be made and remade, if even a partial measure of success is to be ours.

And there must be that quality, rightly insisted upon by all successful administrators who have had long experience of backward peoples, and especially those who have watched with insight the reaction of mind on mind as between black and white.

Slow and dull as the native may appear to the casual observer, he is quick to notice the attitude of those with whom he comes into contact ; and the manner, the facial aspect, the tones of the voice, are at once read and unconsciously interpreted by him and colour his attitude to another. The white man who establishes and retains the regard of these people always consciously or unconsciously recognizes this, and in it often lies the reason why one man is highly regarded and trusted by them, while another, for no easily apparent reason, never obtains their confidence. The underlying reason is that the one they recognize has sympathy and liking for them and this feeling is absent in the other. Without sympathy their confidence and liking will never be gained, and without these our relations will always be strained and unsatisfactory. The native does not look for maudlin sentimentality in his rulers ; he expects punishment when he offends, and never complains if the punishment is heavy ; he does expect what he conceives to be justice, is quick to recognize sympathy, and does instinctively appreciate the great but sometimes subtle and indefinable difference between a strained tolerance and the warmer atmosphere of genuine liking and goodwill.

I have said enough to indicate the difficulties of our investigation and of its application to practical ends. In Natal, at all events, we have had long periods of absolute inaction, practically ignoring the native, and then one or two periods of short duration when the unexpected shook us up, and seeing vaguely as through a mist that we were drifting on to the rocks, the cry was "something must be done".

But I strongly deprecate what is too often implied in this cry, that if we only begin to do "something," we can again rest at our ease, forget the problem, salve our consciences by our unthinking "doing of something," and again attend to our all-absorbing personal affairs. Not that way is salvation to be won.

In no other land under the British flag, except, perhaps, in the Far East, certainly in none of the great self-governing colonies with which we rank ourselves, is the position of white man *qua* white man so high, his status so impugnable, as in South East Africa. Differing in much else, the race instinct binds the whites together to demand recognition as a member of the ruling and inviolable caste, even for the poorest, the degraded of their race. And this position connotes freedom from all manual and menial toil; without hesitation the white man demands this freedom, without question the black man accedes and takes up the burden, obeying the race command of one who may be his personal inferior. It is difficult to convey to one who has never known this distinction the way in which the very atmosphere is charged with it in South East Africa. A white oligarchy, every member of the race an aristocrat; a black proletariat, every member of the race a server; the line of cleavage as clear and deep as the colours. The less able and vigorous of our race thus protected, find here an ease, a comfort, a recognition to which their personal worth would never entitle them in a homogeneous white population.

And we have all been enjoying this ease, comfort, power, as a matter of course, as our due. But in this world of compensations, of forces ever tending to the balance, we cannot simply take this good and ignore the responsibilities which ever accompany power. Yet this is what we have been trying to do; to take the goods and evade payment. It will not do.

We must face the question though it means hard thinking, self-abnegation, tolerance, difficulty, disappointment—a heavy strain on the best that is in us. Not on

our imports and exports, not on increased population, not on industrial success, good as all these may be, depends our justification for having taken to ourselves this land, but on the measure of true success with which we deal with this people who are given into our hand. And this will not be achieved by alternately forgetting they exist, excepting as a factor in our industrialism, and then suddenly waking up to "do something". Constant vigilance is the price of freedom. Constant vigilance with all the qualities I have tried to indicate is the price we must pay for our privileges. The deepest thought before taking action, closest watchfulness when action is taken. Constant sympathy, unwavering firmness, must ever be shown.

Never hurry and never forget, always present before us.

To investigate the conditions of social life of both races as they have developed apart and as they are modified by interaction, to consider the general course to be adopted and the principles by which we should be guided, is the work of the investigator, of the student of sociology; to put these principles into actual operation is the function of the legislator and administrator. For the actual work of administration our race has shown capacity beyond that of any other of modern times, and in a remarkable number of instances we have managed to "muddle through" with little thought or plan. But every year we live, our conditions get more involved and complicated, and increasingly and in all spheres of activity it becomes apparent that if we are to grapple successfully with these conditions our actions must be based on right and accurate thinking, on the application of scientific methods. Unless the genius of our race fails us we shall find the men in plenty to run the machine; what we want, and what we have so often failed in the past to get, is a rightly adjusted machine.

What is required in a country such as ours is a body of trained investigators to study with scientific accuracy

the primitive races of the land, their history, ideals, religion, customs, myths, and place it on record before it is too late, before altered conditions wipe it all out. In the comparative study of man this alone will have a high value, but for a true appreciation of which we must look to our children. To-day our object is different, we want to govern these people justly, amongst whom we have thrust ourselves; in our interest and in theirs we want to do what is right, to face our responsibilities like men, but we hardly know how to go about it. If we knew what was in the mind of the black man we should be greatly helped, have indeed the knowledge for lack of which we make so many blunders in our practical life. In its ultimate analysis the subject of the study of primitive mankind by anthropologists is his mind and its working as evidenced in his art, culture, religion, social life. A closer and more scientific study of these things would surely help us somewhat in the elucidation of our problem.

Along with those whose study is the science of anthropology there ought to be associated others of different training. These should be men familiar with the people in their daily life, knowing their difficulties, grievances, and wants, men who come in touch with them, who know them and their environment intimately. They should also be acquainted with methods of government and administration. If these practical men had the advantage of association with others whose research work was available to them, we might hope to have science applied to government.

But in the absence of such a scientific method of dealing with our subject, we must even do the best we can, and each, in the measure of his ability and knowledge and the call of his conscience, assist in the elucidation of this great subject.

The ideal qualifications for dealing with the whole native problem and the relation of Black and White in South Africa, so reading the present as to give a forecast of the future with a view to regulating our present actions,

are such that I know of no one possessing them, no one even approximating to the ideal. It seems to me that even when we restrict the area to South East Africa it would be impossible to find any one man who was qualified. For in the first place he must know the country intimately, not only from the railway and on the main roads, but its inner recesses, the fastnesses of the Berg and the miasmatic flats of the Maputa. He must have lived the life of the native at his home, must speak at least Zulu and Sesuto, have a knowledge of native law and custom and also of the statutes we ourselves have imposed upon them. In addition to knowing the native in his home life, he must know how he lives on the farms as tenant and servant to the white man, the conditions under which he works on the mines as miner, in the towns as labourer, kitchen boy, ricksha-puller. The result of missionary training and the manner of life and conversation of the more advanced natives must also be familiar to him.

And to be fully qualified for the task he must know the white man as well as the black, the conditions under which the various classes, bywoner, pastoralist, artisan, planter, merchant, live in South East Africa, and be able from actual knowledge to compare it with what the environment and life of similar classes would be in Canada, Australia, Britain, and especially the Southern States of America. Add to this a wide course of reading on sociological and anthropological subjects, a mind of the philosophic bent and a keen interest in the subject, and it will be seen how much is necessary to the man who would essay to deal with our subject.

It is with great diffidence I again approach my fellow colonists on this subject, fully aware of how far I fall short of the standard I have myself set. But I can claim, at least, the last-named qualification—a keen interest in the subject. And though failing to a greater or less extent in many personal desiderata, I have had exceptional opportunities of late years. The first-hand knowledge acquired during the long sittings of the Natal Native Com-

mission has been of great value, and the experience of the working of administration on the Natal Native Council has also been exceptional.

If one relied only on knowledge actually acquired by personal observation and at first hand few of us would know much of the subject. We all acquire from others, and much depends on the judgment in selecting, accepting, or rejecting such second-hand knowledge. I have had largely to depend upon information supplied by others, conversations with men from all parts of South East Africa, and much of my work is collating or editing what I have received. But I have been careful in sifting, and may claim that a residence of over thirty-five years in South East Africa, opportunities of meeting men of all classes, of varied experience, and all shades of opinion, journeyings that have taken me over most of the territory with which I deal even to its utmost recesses, living in the kraal of the native, the home of the farmer, in the caves of the Drakensberg, and in the wagon tent, have given me some fitness for the task. But I ask consideration of my reader ; we are all feeling our way. If my facts are incorrect or my judgments at fault I will willingly acknowledge and correct. The truth is all I seek.

It is usual to speak of the position of the native, his government, and our general relation to him as a problem, and to speak of the intricacy, difficulty, even in our optimistic moments, of the solution of this problem. But what do we actually mean by it ? To different men and minds it means a different thing. To the missionary the problem means finding the best method of converting to Christianity the whole native population irrespective of their material or political position. To the industrialist the problem would be solved if he got sufficient labour at such rates as would enable him to make profits, to the legislator quietude on the part of the people so that no political trouble or agitation should be possible, but without much regard to their race advancement.

I feel I must make an attempt to make clear what I have meant when using the term in this introductory chapter, and what it implies when I use it later on.

I will put it first as a statement.

To so act in our relations with the natives and so guide them that they may have all reasonable opportunity for developing their race life along the best lines, taking account of their physical, mental, and moral improvement ; not necessarily following the line of evolution of the white man, but the one their race genius suggests. And that we, while so acting, shall also have an opportunity of development, and be not subject as a race to deteriorating tendencies which may be present in our race environment.

Let me put it as a question.

Is it possible for a white race, whose race aspiration is the utmost economic development of the country in which they live, and every effective member of which is filled with a desire to acquire and advance, to live with a black one, to whom the aspirations and efforts of the white do not appeal, and yet so adjust the life of each that both shall be content with the position, and the black have all reasonable opportunities for such development as is possible to him ?

If this question could be answered in the affirmative, and methods that would ensure its realization be put into operation at once, the optimist might be justified and a solution possible. We cannot to-day answer it. Time will do that ; but we may, I think, honestly hope by our actions to mould events towards this end ; we may be so fortunate as that in the comparatively near future, the native population may become contented citizens of the State, helping, though in a humble way, to build up its future, assured of fair play in the present and hope for the future.

My aim in writing this book is not only to give my views on the native, his present and possible future, and what our attitude should be to him, which is vastly important ; but I attempt more, and I trust what I may say under

this head may be of some interest and possibly of some value. No thoughtful South African can but be interested in the native question as I have so far put it from the native side, but many must also have thought of what effect our unusual environment—the present and close contact of an overwhelming number of blacks—has had, and is going to have, upon our race. What of the future of the white man in South East Africa? It is stated by biologists who have made a special study of the theory of evolution as applied to man, that, though in past time the struggle for actual existence, the survival of the fittest, and the elimination of the unfit, affected the evolution of our species just as in the case of the lower animals, the operation of these causes is held in abeyance since man became civilized. In a state of society in which the law of natural selection is prevented by conscious altruism from having its full effect, the unfit as well as the fit have a chance of propagating the species. Indeed, owing to conditions which are only operative in complex civilizations, it would appear that the effective fertility of the former is greater than that of the latter. Then it becomes that the two most important causes left, which mould and change the race, are environment and education. It is hardly likely that the surroundings which we have in South East Africa, affecting our daily lives at all points from the cradle to the grave, will not profoundly affect our race characteristics.

To try to read these changes whether for good or ill, so that we may tend the former and modify or eradicate the latter, is part of our problem.

CHAPTER II.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

THE country with which I am dealing and which I call South East Africa, was, until recently, not a single political entity but formed portions of several distinct states, and is all now, either part of the Union of South Africa, or areas under the immediate governance of the Imperial authorities, and consists of country of varying aspect, altitude, climate, and fertility. It consists of the province of Natal including Zululand, the country on the Eastern side of the Drakensberg, the mountains which form the backbone and watershed of South East Africa. This mighty range in Natal attains its greatest elevation of 11,000 feet in the Mont aux Sources and Cathkin Peak, while the general height of the range in Natal must be 9000 to 10,000 feet above the sea. From their sources in the Drakensberg many rivers run eastward carrying their waters to the Indian Ocean, and furrowing the land with deep valleys of erosion, often one to two or even three thousand feet below the grassy tablelands which separate the one from the next. The distance from the crest of the Berg to the Indian Ocean is probably only an average of 120 miles as the vulture flies, so these rivers are short and exceedingly rapid, having a fall of 10,000 feet in this short distance. Thus Natal is a land of hills and valleys, sometimes smoothly rolling, again rugged and precipitous, the hills and slopes grass covered, clothed with forest in the kloofs, abundantly watered by rain and often sheeted in mist, whilst the deep river valleys, locally called the Thorns, are comparatively dry with a picturesque covering of mimosas and aloes, thorny or succulent, adapted to

resist the more arid conditions. A lovely land of striking and varied beauty, soft yet healthy climate, an ideal home for the Abantu, and one for which his soul hungers when in exile. In all portions of it are to be seen the brown huts of the natives, under the shelter of the Drakensberg, on the open breezy ridges of the Midlands, in the deep Thorn valleys, and in view of the surf on the shores of the Indian Ocean.

In the north-eastern portion of the land is the cradle of the Zulu race, and over the whole of it the people are closely allied to the Amazulu. Under the Berg here and there are a few Basuto, and there is a considerable number of these people in the Nqutu district in the upper part of Zululand who were introduced there under their chief Hlubi in the settlement after the Zulu war. But these do not affect the great mass, who are either of the remnant who survived in the land during Tyaka's bloody reign, hiding away in caves and among rocks, or those who swarmed in from Zululand, finding Natal a safe refuge during the many troubles of that country.

There is no marked difference in the natural features of the country as we cross the rivers Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna which form the boundary between Natal and the province of the Cape of Good Hope. The Drakensberg, though not so lofty, is still the boundary on the west, the Indian Ocean to the east. The land preserves its general character through Griqualand East, Pondoland, and the Transkei, which is the portion of the Cape Colony with which we deal. It is thickly populated with natives, all akin, but of different tribes. In the north are the Amabaca, Amahlangweni and Amaxesibi. Along the coast the Amapondo, further south the Tembus, Xosas and Fingoes; the last named the descendants of refugees from Natal who fled south in the early years of last century. All these are closely related to the Amazulu. In the upper parts of the territory close under the Drakensberg live some tribes of Basuto.

Crossing the Drakensberg at the northern apex of

Natal, where the Amajuba and Pogwani crests overlook Lang's Nek, we enter the high veldt of the Transvaal, a succession of rolling grassy downs 5000 to 6500 feet above the sea, open, cool, healthy, bracing. This is not the country the native chooses, he loves the sheltered warm valleys below the mountain, and few natives except those in the service of the farmers live on this exposed tableland. Below the plateau to the eastward is a broken country similar to Natal in its natural features, and here live many Abantu, all of Zulu strain, many related to the Swazi branch of that stock. North of a line drawn approximately along the railway from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay the high veldt merges into a different country. Here one enters the bush veldt of the Boers, a vast area of more or less flat country covered with bush and subject to arid conditions, with here and there areas of greater elevation and a much more humid climate. Much of this country, especially that below the level of three thousand feet, is subject to fever, and it is here the greater portion of the Transvaal natives reside. They are principally of the Basuto side of the Abantu stock as distinguished from the Zulu-Xosa side, but among them are the only black people now existing in South East Africa who are not close blood relations of one branch or other of the Abantu. These people are the degraded Vaalpens Kaffirs of the far north. Whom they are, whether the true autochthones of the country or not, we cannot answer at present. As a factor in our present inquiry they may be considered part of the Bechuana or Basuto people of the Northern Transvaal.

A considerable number of natives also live in the Western Transvaal in the Rustenberg and Marico districts who also belong to the Basuto group.

East of the Transvaal and below the escarpment which is the continuation of the Drakensberg lies Swaziland, a broken country not dissimilar to the midland portions of Natal, though hotter, hardly so healthy, and less fertile. The Swazi people are somewhat mixed in race, a Zulu

strain mixed with some peoples inhabiting Portuguese East Africa.

Now it only remains to mention the Switzerland of South Africa—Basutoland. A large part is formed of the mountainous knot culminating in Mont aux Sources, from which the waters run east to the Indian Ocean, and west to the Atlantic. The higher parts of the country on the eastern sides are cold, inhospitable mountain moorlands, and are practically uninhabited, but the western side abutting on the Orange River Colony, though elevated, is fertile, well watered, and healthy for stock of all kinds in which the inhabitants, the Basuto, are rich probably beyond any other native people of South East Africa. The whole population is akin in blood, descent, and language, though originally belonging to different tribes of Bechuana strain who lived in the country to the west, but fled into Basutoland as a refuge in the troublous times at the beginning of last century. Here they were united in one nation, the Basuto, by the genius of Moshesh their great chief, who by valour and diplomacy, as occasion required, kept invaders at bay, and they remain to-day the only unconquered and independent Abantu tribe in South East Africa.

The Abantu people of South East Africa can, as I have indicated, be divided into two great groups, the Zulu-Xosa group which includes the great bulk of the natives of Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, and the Transkei; and the Basuto-Bechuana group, which occupies Basutoland and the North and West Transvaal. Notwithstanding the wars and migrations which have taken place since we first became acquainted with these people, the geographical distribution is approximately what it was sixty to seventy years ago, the Zulu strain keeping to the seaward side of the great mountain range, the Basuto to the interior and west of the Drakensberg. Though undoubtedly nearly related—probably both descended from one aboriginal stock—these two branches of the Abantu differ in language, character, and mode of

living. The Zulu is, or was in the past, more warlike than the Basuto, more devoted to pastoral pursuits and less to agriculture, less industrious and not so advanced in some of the arts. The Zulu lived in the simple beehive-shaped hut with the roof and wall in one, the Basuto in one with mud or stone walls and thatched roof. The Zulu fought with assegai alone, the throwing variety before the time of Tyaka, the stabbing kind after that; the Basuto with a greater variety of weapons, including highly finished battle-axes. Although there is a generic resemblance between the two peoples, there are differences difficult to describe but appreciable to the trained eye, just as there are differences between typical examples of English and Scotch or perhaps better still between Englishman and German. If a hundred Zulus were mixed with a hundred Basuto, a European knowing both people well would probably be able to pick out with accuracy from their appearance and manner, a fair proportion of the more typical examples of each tribe, but would be much puzzled with a residuum which might belong to either. Possibly a native with the same intimate knowledge of both would be able to go further and leave a smaller residuum. Europeans not born in South Africa, but coming to the country as adults, are aware of the difficulty they have at first in distinguishing one native from another. All seem alike in their blackness, and only after a time is the eye able to discriminate. But the general resemblance between these two branches is great, they also resemble each other in their fundamental characteristics, and much that is said in the following pages will apply to both, though when it is necessary to draw a distinction an attempt will be made to indicate it.

I have spoken, and shall speak, of the Abantu people of South East Africa as black, a useful generic term to distinguish them from Europeans, but they are not by any means of one shade of colour. They range from a light and not very pleasant yellow shade to a dull sooty black, but the majority of true Zulus, at all events, are a

bronze brown often with a tinge of red showing through it. When thoroughly washed and duly anointed there is a peculiar richness about this colour which makes the somewhat anæmic colour of town-bred Europeans look sickly by comparison. The colour I refer to may be seen in the native policemen and ricksha-pullers of Durban, nearly all of whom are of Zulu strain and whose magnificent limbs shining like those of a bronze statue are so much admired by visitors.

Nor is the general facial expression uniform. It is often more or less negroid, though the typical flat nose and thick lips which we associate with the negro are not common. Many have fine, well-cut features, and one is sometimes startled by a physiognomy of striking character or attractiveness. Those who are acquainted with the members of the Zulu Royal House are impressed with the extreme symmetry of form and distinction of feature and manner which belong to many of them. I remember in the old days of the Zulu monarchy these characteristics were recognized by many of the old traders, and I was struck by the almost respectful way in which they spoke of the House, and in later times I have seen quite enough of them to understand the attitude of the European in Zululand towards the Zulu aristocracy.

In physique, physical vigour, and power of endurance they undoubtedly rank high, whether as compared with any other primitive people or with Europeans. I must, however, make a distinction here. The Zulus, the Transkeian natives, and the Basuto of Basutoland, are undoubtedly finer men than the Basuto clans of the Northern Transvaal, and probably the order in which the several peoples should be placed in this respect is that in which I have written them down. The Maories of New Zealand are generally regarded as one of the finest races physically with which we have come into contact, but my observations lead me to think that they would come out second in this respect to the pure Zulu. A really fine Zulu is a magnificent specimen of a man, often perfectly

built judged from a European, aye, even from an ancient Greek standard ; deep chest, broad shoulders, perfectly shaped limbs, well-shaped hands and feet, certainly without any sign of the "lark heel" of the negro. The general physical standard of the race is also very high indeed. Dwellers in towns are often deceived in this respect because the specimens of the race they see are in a false setting. Clothed at best in cheap, ill-fitting, ready-made clothes, and often in odds and ends cast off by the white man, their really fine figures are masked and they look like slouching bundles of rags. But take a number of store boys or wharf labourers, strip and clean them and put them in their natural surroundings, and I am sure a judge of physical form would wonder at the high average standard of these men. Very few are malformed, a fine torso and beautifully rounded limbs belong to nearly all. It is true, they are not, as a rule, so apparently muscular as the highly developed European, the typical blacksmith or navvy, but these are exceptions among us, whilst excellent physique is the rule among the natives. It is often said that, admitting all this, they are unable to perform feats of strength possible to Europeans, but the feats set to them are generally the speciality of some exceptional European who has learned the peculiar knack necessary ; this is quite unknown to the native, who is also probably very diffident and does not put forth his full power, and his inability, under these circumstances, is quoted as an instance of lack of physical strength. I know personally of so many feats of strength and endurance (particularly the latter) performed as a matter of course both by specially endowed and average natives that I rank their powers in this respect very high indeed.

I have laid stress on this matter of physique and general physical power because it is the basis of much, and a true judgment is necessary as it will affect our general estimate of the people, their capabilities and their future, and also because I feel that many Europeans, partly through faulty observation, partly through race

pride, have made and circulated quite a false estimate of their powers.

In mental capacity I think they vary more than in physical power. Their mode of life and the elimination of the unfit in their natural surroundings tended to a high general average of the latter. There has been little or no demand on the intellect of the average native, neither livelihood nor position depended on mental exertion, the dullard had as much chance of leaving a numerous offspring as the man of more than average mental alertness or capacity. One often hears among colonists, even those who have a poor opinion of the general capacity of the native, of some particular individual they have known who has shown wonderful aptitude for a particular kind of work or general ability or trustworthiness. "As good as a white man" is the phrase not infrequently heard in this connexion. I am acquainted with one man employed by a well-known colonist who has shown extraordinary mechanical ability and carried out some quite wonderful feats of engineering skill. Many of the old families in Natal have servants who have worked for them for years, who are not only capable of some particular form of service but who can be trusted to exercise much discretion and judgment when occasion demands. I am not referring to educated natives but to raw or kraal natives, as I wish, just at present, to consider, and try to form an estimate of, the natural ability of these people.

It is customary to take as a measure of mental capacity the position held by a people in the arts of life, their intellectual calibre being gauged by their acquaintance with, and use of, tools, weapons, utensils, clothing, ornaments; the nearer they approach to our complicated standard in these things the more mentally gifted we regard them. But such a judgment may be altogether misleading, and I think may be so shown in many concrete cases. Set against such a standard our natives would be regarded as having but little natural capacity, would be relegated to a position far lower than that to which they are entitled, for

their homes are grass huts, their only weapon a futile assegai, their utensils a few simple crocks or wooden vessels, and their clothing, at best, a few skins. Compared with the complicated contrivances of the white man they are ridiculously simple, but some of us who know these people, are aware that when their innate ability is compared with that of many men using all the paraphernalia of civilization the difference is nothing like so great as would be indicated by this test.

The Highlanders of the West and Islands often, even at the present day, live in hovels little better than native huts ; until recent years their agricultural implements and utensils were of the most primitive kind, many of the arts were unknown to them, and yet no one can question the very high standard of natural ability among these people. The sons of many a crofter who did not know the use of a plough, have taken high and distinguished places among the servants of Empire. And so of the peasantry of the west of Ireland. Their material condition was and is often below that of our natives, and their knowledge of the arts and use of implements and tools is extremely limited. Few, however, would claim a higher standard of mentality for the clerk or artisan living in a city and using all the most recent appliances of civilization, than that present, latent though it be, in the Connemara peasant. Give him a chance in other surroundings and he displays all the brightness, quickness, and adaptability of his race.

And we must remember, that many of those who pass judgment on our natives only see them under great disadvantages. They are in the unfamiliar surroundings of a town, taking part in a life they cannot comprehend, expected to work for an end they do not understand, and with tools they have never seen before. The wonder is, not that they appear stupid, but that they even manage as well as they usually do. Let the town-bred European who has condemned them as stupid and unintelligent, go into the wilds attended only by them, without the manifold helps and contrivances of civilization, which were not invented

or designed by him but by the accumulated efforts of thousands of his progenitors, and he will, I aver, often be surprised at the knowledge, the resource, the judgment, the memory—in short, the mental ability and equipment of those who appeared so dense and stupid in the town.

In some directions they have abilities which have been recognized by all who have known them well, a power of reasoned argument which is often surprising, a gift of selecting the essential in the case and rejecting what is of no import, unless indeed it suits their purpose to exaggerate and use forensic dodges. They are born orators and have a surprising gift of language. Their laws and social customs, though simple, are admirably fitted for the life they lead, and certainly indicate a power of adapting means to ends that is by no means of a low order.

In support of my statement that the Abantu have a wonderful power of expression and reasoned argument, I give the following quotation from Rev. William C. Holden's work on "The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races". He quotes Mr. Dugmore, a competent authority, who thus describes a native lawsuit:—

"Then comes the tug of war. The ground is disputed inch by inch; every assertion is contested; objection meets objection, and question is opposed by counter-question, each disputant endeavouring, with surprising adroitness, to throw the burden of answering on his opponent. The Socratic method of debate appears in all its perfection, both parties being equally versed in it. The rival advocates warm as they proceed, sharpening each other's intellect and kindling each other's ardour, till, from the passions that seem enlisted in the contest, a stranger might suppose the interests of the nation to be at stake and dependent upon the position.

"When these combatants have spent their strength, or one of them is overcome in argument, others step in to the rescue. The battle is fought over again on different ground, some point, either of law or evidence, that has been kept purposely in abeyance, being now brought for-

ward and perhaps the entire aspect of the case changed. The whole of the second day is frequently taken up with this intellectual gladiatorship, and it closes without any other result than an exhibition of the relative strength of the opposing parties. The plaintiff's company retire again and the defendant and his friends review the position. Should they feel that they have been worsted and that the case is one that cannot be successfully defended, they attempt to bring the matter to a conclusion by an offer of the smallest satisfaction the law allows. This is usually refused, in expectation of an advance in the offer, which takes place generally in proportion to the defendant's anxiety to prevent an appeal. Should the plaintiff accede to the proposed terms, they are fulfilled; and the case is closed by a formal declaration of acquiescence.

"If, however, as frequently happens, the case involves a number of intricate questions that afford room for quibble, the debates are renewed day by day, till the plaintiff determines to appeal to the Umpakati who has charge of the neighbouring district. He proceeds with his array of advocates to his kraal and the case is restated in his presence. The defendant confronts him, and the whole affair is gone into again on an enlarged scale of investigation. The history of the case, the history of the events which led up to it, collateral circumstances, journeyings, visits, conversations, bargains, exchanges, gifts, promises, threatenings, births, marriages, deaths, that were taken, made, given or occurred in connexion with either of the contending parties, or their associates, or their relatives of the present or past generations, all come under review; and before the Court of Appeal has done with the affair, the history, external and internal, of a dozen families for the past ten years is made the subject of conflicting discussion."

The fact is that up to the present time, their whole outlook on life has been the antithesis of ours, and even now they are not prepared to accept our view of life as better than theirs. To the average native the toils and worries

of the average European for his average ends are incomprehensible. For a man who could take life as it came, talking with his friends, attending a dance, visiting his neighbours, to shut himself in an office and toil and moil and worry for a lot of things to again take care of, may be the way of the Abelungu and it may be the right way for him, but it would be foolishness in the Umuntu. It is not our way, he would say, and leave the white man to his eccentricities. A large and progressive farmer in Natal was showing a number of agricultural friends over his farm. Well-tilled fields and excellent crops of various kinds were seen, treated in up-to-date fashion with fertilizers specially suited to the crops. Many questions were asked, and at last the proprietor had to admit he could not give detailed answers and his native headman was called, who described the tillage, the various manures used, and their proportions to different soils, quite surprising his questioners by his knowledge. After passing through the well-cultivated fields they came to some scrubby gardens of the usual native kind and inquired to whom they belonged. The headman admitted ownership, and on being asked why he did not cultivate his own as he did his master's crops, replied, "Oh! I am a native, this is our way!" But this does not necessarily imply lack of ability. It does, however, indicate the native point of view.

Up to the present time it has not appeared worth while to the native to bother about many of the things so desirable to the white man. He is a philosopher: if crops are plentiful well and good, he eats and sleeps; if food is scarce, he tightens his belt and waits for better times. Cattle are good, beer is good, and wives are good, but to curtail his leisure as the white man does for things that don't matter is not his way. He is at present asleep, or better perhaps half-awakened, rubbing his eyes, wonderingly amused at all the novelties he sees around him, just playing with those that come in his way in a childish irresponsible fashion.

But he may in time think it is worth while and fully wake up and surprise us. Races often slumber, they remain at the same stage of thought and culture for ages, and then, responsive to some touch, rouse themselves and make prodigious advances. During apparent somnolence accumulation has been going on, and this advance may be in only one direction or it may be all-round progress. The conservative native, so far deaf to the allurements of civilization, may yet surprise us by developing race ambition, and it may be along altogether unsuspected lines. Once or twice in his history he has given the onlooker little shocks, and more of the unexpected may be brewing. At all events, one thing is certain, his changed environment is changing him, he is marvellously conservative and persistent, but granite may be worn away by air and water. We may be certain that he has capacity far beyond what he is called upon to exert in his present circumstances, and it is extremely improbable that this capacity is going to lie dormant for all time.

When uncontaminated by contact with the lower forms of our civilization the native is courteous and polite. Even to-day, changed for the worse as he is declared to be by most authorities, a European could ride or walk alone, unarmed even with a switch, all through the locations of Natal and Zululand, scores of miles away from the house of any white man, and receive nothing but courteous deference from the natives. If he met, as he certainly would, troops of young men, dressed in all their barbaric finery, going to wedding or dance, armed with sticks and shields, full of hot young blood, they would still stand out of the narrow path, giving to the white man the right of way and saluting as he passed. I have thus travelled alone all over South East Africa, among thousands of blacks and never a white man near, and I cannot remember the natives, even if met in scores or hundreds, ever disputing the way for a moment. All over Africa, winding and zigzagging over hill and dale, over grassland and through forest, from kraal to kraal, and tribe to tribe,

go the paths of the natives. In these narrow paths worn in the grass by the feet of the passers, you could travel from Natal to Benguela and back again to Mombasa. Only wide enough for one to travel thereon, if opposite parties meet one must give way ; cheerfully, courteously, without cringing, often with respectful salute, does the native stand on one side allowing the white man to pass. One accepts it without thought ; it is the expected, but if pondered upon it is suggestive of much.

Among themselves they are kindly, hospitable, helpful. You may have in your employ native servants coming from different kraals and localities. Friends, boys and girls, arrive from one of these. The food may be only sufficient for the workers ; no special provision is made for visitors. This happens frequently, yet I never knew the natives, whether those whose friends the visitors were, or those who knew them not, complain or even hint at complaint that they were inconvenienced by the visitors either in the matter of shelter or food. Again, I find that if a certain native has some regular work to do at a given time and is necessarily absent, then the others, or some of them, will, without any special arrangement being made, take up the work in willing fashion and without fuss, not apparently regarding it as a grievance or calling for any recognition.

These are traits that indicate character and show a kindly, hospitable people, helpful to each other. But man is a complex being, and this same native will often shock a European by what the latter considers his callousness to suffering in others. Pain in man or animals which would call forth all the sympathy of the white man will be passed by the black man with utter unconcern. The fact seems to be that much of his carelessness about comfort, and his indifference to suffering, is caused by a certain coarseness of fibre, a hardness that, in these days, the civilized white man has lost. He is so accustomed to comforts, so unaccustomed to any kind of privation, that what would have seemed to his forebears matters of indifference are to him

serious deprivations. With the native, a little less food, a harder couch, colder or warmer, are not regarded as of any importance. And pain which would make a white man quiver, makes little impression on him, nor does he have much sympathy for it in another. Any close observer must have been impressed with his indifference to all these things. Our dependence on conveniences, artificialities, and our sensitiveness to discomfort and pain are regarded by some as signs that the natural vigour of the race is departing or being sapped. The native is in no such case ; a race characteristic of some value and of which we should not lose sight.

I do not feel competent to say how far the language of the Abantu indicates the position of the people among the races of the world. It is melodious and copious and fully fitted for all the needs of the people. In all that intimately touches them in their everyday life it is more full and expressive than our tongue as spoken by the common people. Different classes of cattle may be described in Zulu by a single word, which would require several sentences, accompanied by a diagram in English. The varieties of grass, and grass at various stages, may be indicated more clearly than would be possible to a European unless he happened to be a botanist. All this shows an observant people in what immediately concerns them, a power of observation and a knowledge of what surrounds them which, though confined to a narrow circle, is often surprising, and especially is the observer often taken aback by the extent to which this knowledge is shared by the children.

The aptitude and intelligence of native children up to a certain age has often been remarked upon by those engaged in their instruction and by other observers. Many claim, or admit, that they are as bright and assimilative as European children of equal age ; but most have to lament a falling off at or about the age of puberty. As a rule it is at this age or a little before it that the children leave school, begin work, and go back to their homes.

How far this alleged falling off is a race characteristic or merely the result of a cessation of teaching and the effect of change of life and surroundings is doubtful. It is claimed that in cases in which the restraints of the educative process can be continued progress is not stopped, and many illustrative individual instances can be given. It is not unlikely that in the majority of cases the sexual atmosphere of their home surroundings, operating at this critical time of life, absorbs all other interests and desires. This predicates strong animal propensities, which we know are present in the race, but does not necessarily indicate a permanent inability for further progress. Dr. A. H. Keane attributes this suspension of the mental powers at the age of adolescence to the premature closing of the sutures of the skull, which arrests expansion of the brain and consequently the development of the mental faculties. This is, to a certain extent, contradicted by the numerous individual cases of continuous and very remarkable mental development under continued favourable conditions. In his book, published this year, entitled "The Yellow and Dark-skinned Races of South Africa," Dr. G. M. Theal devotes some attention to this question, and gives extracts from the evidence given before a Select Committee of the House of Assembly of the Cape Colony in 1908. Many expert educationalists who had long worked among the natives gave their experiences and opinions, but they were not by any means unanimous, and we are not carried very far. Some who were actually engaged in native education and with long experience, were not disposed to admit a falling away at the age of puberty; others with equal opportunities of judging accepted it as a fact. In one of the very thorough and thoughtful reports of Mr. E. B. Sargant, who was educational adviser to Lord Milner when High Commissioner (and which unfortunately seem to have been forgotten) this question is considered. He calls the phenomenon mental saturation, and is not inclined to accept the anatomical and physiological cause mentioned above. He finds similar premature saturation among

Europeans, and attributes it largely to a defective system of education, in which students are crammed with a number of truths on a great variety of subjects which they are unable to assimilate, before they have opportunity or power to get at facts at first hand and arrange, compare, and assign their proportionate value to what they have committed to memory. He argues that if this is the case with Europeans it is much more likely to be so with natives, and to this attributes the frequent entry made against the names of scholars who have abandoned instruction in Basutoland "Left school tired". We want more light on the matter; it is a subject of great and practical interest carrying weighty issues for the future of the race, and worthy of further accurate investigation.

I have attempted to give some estimate of the natural mental capabilities of the Abantu, and I should now, in order to make the picture complete, try to convey some idea of the moral nature of the native and his attitude towards the supernatural. Anyone who has tried to form a general estimate of the ethical conceptions and real religious beliefs of a section of his own race will recognize the difficulty one is under in dealing with a people so far apart, and in this respect one which is inarticulate.

The native idea of what is right and wrong is laid down in the unwritten law of the land—the custom thought out by the wisest through succeeding generations and gradually adopted by the nation. These laws dealt with the relation of the individual to the community, and according to the testimony of those who knew the native in his primitive condition were universally accepted and rarely infringed. This is sought to be explained by the rigour of the punishment inflicted for any breach of them, death being the usual, at times the invariable penalty. Whether this was the case or not, it is a fact that to-day, when our punishments are light and often regarded by the native as ridiculous, they are a wonderfully law-abiding race. In the Transkeian territories the small number of police officers to the huge masses of natives is subject

of remark by all visitors (on an average one policeman to 4000 inhabitants), and the position in Natal is much the same. Notwithstanding the changed conditions the reports of the Natal magistrates for 1909 are practically unanimous in stating that serious crime is non-existent, and even infringement of regulations infrequent.

But questions arise outside the sphere of law, questions of right or wrong, which come into all lives, black and white alike, though it may be not so frequently or in such conscious form in the case of the black man. How does the native deal with these? Does he feel the promptings of conscience indicating good and bad, making him feel more or less distressed if he choose the latter, satisfied if he decides to take the right course? Many of those who have moved in and out among these people all their lives would mock at the question even being asked. The question of right or wrong they would say never occurs to the black man, the line of least resistance, the smallest amount of service possible, the greatest gratification of his appetites are all that prompt him. Is it so? One can only, in a case like this, judge from personal experience. If you find a man who, so far from giving eye service, may be depended upon to work as faithfully in your absence as in your presence, he is surely prompted by conscientious motives. It may cause an incredulous and superior smile on the part of many who know the natives when I say that I know native men who are such hard, and as we would say of white men, such conscientious workers, that I have to take thought and allot a task to which their strength is equal, knowing that whatever I ask, their fullest powers will be put into it, and to so change the labour, intercalating lighter occupations, that they shall not be overtasked. If you leave a man in charge of your possessions, many of which would be of great value to him, and he, knowing you could not possibly check him, faithfully renders account of all, it may fairly be counted to him for righteousness. And all old colonists who have the confidence of the natives can tell of numer-

ous instances of faithful service, honest dealing, self-sacrifice, disinterested action on the part of natives that, in a white man, would be counted as the higher morality. Law-abiding the native certainly is; his severest critic would admit that, even when the white man's law seems objectless he obeys it, and I must claim that he also obeys in a far larger number of cases than is commonly admitted, the higher law of conscience. Give him a specific trust and seldom does he fail. In the old days his honesty in the narrow sense of the term was proverbial, and large sums of money counted out in the presence of the natives were placed in their hands and delivered again intact. I have left all my movable possessions and house open in their charge for months at a time, and in one case for over two years, and returned to find everything as carefully preserved as if I had been present, and with an almost pathetic record of the circumstances attending any small breakage or loss.

The native has been described as an utter materialist, without religion of any kind, or any conception beyond his animal appetites. This seems to me utterly wrong, he is linked up to the supernatural in all his actions, is surrounded by the spirits of his fathers; dreams, visions, and second sight are part of his system of things. Both good and bad agencies surround him and may be invoked by those familiar with them; before an impi goes to war it must be doctored to get strength and protection from the former; when misfortune happens the agent of the latter must be discovered and the cord snapped between the spirit and himself. So far from being material their whole life is saturated with the supernatural.

The test we apply to religions is first whether those accepting them have a belief in and a high conception of the attributes of a Supreme Being, and secondly whether the religion so influences life and conduct as to make it more moral, better, worthier. By these tests we cannot place the beliefs in the supernatural, and the actions resulting therefrom, of the native high in the scale of religions.

He had a vague idea of a Being above all the spirits he propitiated, but of his nature he knew nothing and did not attempt to form any adequate conception; his attention was directed to these unseen influences which he considered as affecting or likely to affect his life and material well-being. So far from his beliefs leading to a well-ordered moral life, his fears outweighed his hopes, and the result was witchcraft with all its suspicions, fears, smelling-out and murders. These results, to us in these days so appalling, were regarded, as they were by our ancestors but a few short years ago, as only due protection of the good against the evil, as moral acts in themselves, and the real underlying morality of the people should not altogether be judged by their misconception of the order of things.

I remember when a large deputation of the far-away chiefs and headmen of Northern Zululand waited upon the Natal Native Commission to talk over matters affecting themselves, their chief complaint against the Government was that they were not allowed to protect themselves in the ancient way against evil doers and thus keep the people and the country clean. They regarded it as essentially wrong that Government should shield these bad people and thus leave them at liberty to work their evil against the good people of the land.

At long intervals in Natal there have happened murders of white people living isolated lives among the Abantu, which, when investigated by the Courts, have disclosed the tremendous hold the belief in witchcraft has among the people, for, in nearly all cases, these killings have been to obtain medicine of peculiar virtue. More frequently murders of natives occur, weird with a tragic fascination, in which people are waylaid, killed, and their bodies subjected to dissection, to furnish the "u'muti" wanted by some doctor who can command the superstitions of the people. The Court inquiries, when such are held, reveal the intimate faith still held by the Abantu in their ancestral beliefs.

I have now endeavoured to give in brief the salient

features of the land inhabited by the Abantu people with whom we are dealing, and my conception of their chief characteristics, some knowledge of which is necessary before we can deal with the problem of our relations to them. Although as far back as our accurate knowledge of them goes, they have inhabited the country now occupied by them, they are not the aborigines of South East Africa. Before they appeared it was occupied by that mysterious race of huntsmen, the Bushmen, now entirely extinct in their old hunting grounds in South East Africa, only remaining, if at all, in small parties in the remotest recesses of the Kalahari desert, far to the west of the country we are dealing with, protected there by their arid and desolate surroundings. Well within the memory of living man they dwelt in the Drakensberg and in the isolated mountains of the Free State, Natal, and Zululand, and as late as 1868 they raided the cattle and horses of the farmers about Mooi River on the Central plateau of Natal. Occasionally, among the natives, one sees an individual with Bushman-like characteristics, and there is little doubt but that during the wars of extermination a few women were saved and taken by the Abantu to wife, accounting for these individual cases of likeness. But, apart from this slight intermixture, all that is left to indicate that such a people once dwelt in the land, are their paintings of animals and men on the walls of the caves and rock shelters in which they lived. Most singular and characteristic are these paintings, no other known living race has an art culture to which it can be likened, and I understand from Professor Henry Balfour, that we have to go back to the Solutrè period of the Palæolithic age of Western Europe before we find any paintings having the same general and unmistakable characteristics. Between the Bushmen and Abantu there could be no peace; their modes of living were so different that it was impossible for them to occupy the same country. Gradually these primitive hunters were driven into the recesses of the most inaccessible mountains; from there as game became scarce they raided

the cattle of their stronger neighbours, who retaliated, followed them up, and exterminating them wherever found, they at last disappeared from the land.

Of the history of the various tribes of Abantu since they became sole possessors of the land I do not propose to say much. Except as indicating the character of the people, it is not greatly to our present purpose. It would appear that periods of comparative peace were broken up by times of devastating war. Much depended on the character of the paramount chief. Under Tyaka, the Zulus carried the assegai and torch through South East Africa from the north of Delagoa Bay to the Umzimvubu; under Panda they rested in their kraals. The Basuto, thanks to the sagacity of Moshesh, were less aggressive; though constantly under arms, they never undertook wars of conquest, content to defend their mountain home against the invader. Since the advent of the white man the independent nations and tribes have, one after another, come beneath his sway—the Gaikas, Gcalekas, the Tembus, Bacas, Hlangwenis of the Transkei; then the Pondos; the conquest of Zululand followed; the Swazies are under his control, and only the Basuto have now a modified independence under the guidance and protection of the Imperial Government. All have come into contact with Europeans and been more or less affected by them.

To make the position of the races to each other clear, it remains to indicate, in a general way, the race, distribution, and occupation of the white men among whom the black men live.

In Natal proper to-day there are probably just under 100,000 Europeans and approximately 770,000 blacks. Of the former the great majority are of British birth or descent, and almost one half live in the two towns of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The European population of the towns of Natal is, generally speaking, well-to-do. There is no labouring class and very little poverty in proportion to the population. Wages and salaries are high, and even those who earn the lower rates, artisans and clerks, are

able to own their own houses. There are no slums, in the sense the word is used in Europe, and the standard of living is very high, almost every family, even the poorest, having at least one native servant. The bulk of the country dwellers are engaged in farming, pastoral and agricultural, the latter gradually extending year by year; mealies which were, a short time since, only cultivated for local consumption being now grown for export in large quantities; wattle tree cultivation for tanning material is increasing by leaps and bounds; and sugar cane and other crops on the coast yearly take up a larger area of land. In the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid the white population in the country is almost exclusively of Dutch descent; in Umvoti, Newcastle and Klip-river both races are represented; in the rest of the colony the white population, town and country alike, is practically all British. As a class the country residents are well educated, well-to-do and thriving, and most of them live in a high standard of comfort. Exception must be made of the northern districts of Vryheid and Utrecht, where, among the Dutch-speaking population, there is considerable poverty, accentuated of late years by the loss of their cattle through East Coast fever.

The farms, generally speaking, are large, probably 2000 acres may be taken as the average size. Many, especially in the Thorn country, are not occupied by Europeans,—they belong to colonists living in other parts or non-resident in the colony, but full of natives who pay rent to the proprietors. Natives invariably live on the farms occupied and cultivated by Europeans as servants, or tenants, or both.

The distinction made in the descent of the white races must be borne in mind, as there is a considerable difference in their mode of life, in their treatment of the native, and in their ideas of him and his position on the land.

In Zululand the native population is approximately 250,000, and the whites number but a few hundreds. A section of the midland portion of the country, of which

the town of Melmoth is the centre and called Proviso B, was cut up into farms many years ago and occupied by Dutch farmers. Since the delimitation commission finished their work, a strip along the railway line on the coast from the river Tugela to about Empangeni, has been divided into smaller farms for the cultivation of sugar cane and occupied by British settlers who employ Indian or native labour. The total area of Zululand is 6,695,000 acres, of this 3,887,000 acres are reserved for natives and this land is held by the Zululand Native Trust ; 2,808,000 acres are for European occupation. The Dutch farmers in the upper parts of Zululand are, generally speaking, not very prosperous. Their herds have been decimated by East Coast fever, and excepting in the district of Babanango, it is not a sheep country. Their life and their relations with the natives are cast in the old patriarchal mould.

The British settlers on the coast are pushing and progressive, nearly all from Natal proper, and of the same class as the farmers there.

The European population of the Transvaal is 289,062 according to the census of 1904. The British section of the people, in the main, reside in the towns, and the farmers are Dutch. On the Witwatersrand, the centre of which is Johannesburg and which includes the considerable town of Germiston, with Boksburg, Krugersdorp and many others, the European population numbered 158,578, though it has probably increased considerably during the last year or two, all engaged in mining and its cognate industrial pursuits or in commerce. Here, and to a smaller extent in Pretoria, there are much greater differences between the wealth and status of the European inhabitants than in the towns of Natal. The general average of well-being is high, wages and salaries higher than in Natal, but there are extremes in wealth and poverty that do not exist in the Garden Colony. Among the English-speaking portion of the population there are a number of indigent people, unemployed, unemployable, or existing

by pandering to the desires of the black man—illicit liquor sellers or worse. A large proportion of these come from oversea, derelicts in their own land and become derelicts here, but with opportunities for mischief they did not possess elsewhere. Fortunately, the proportion of married men among them is not high, but this class is a serious menace to the moral and physical health of the community.

In both Johannesburg and Pretoria, and to a smaller extent in the towns outside the area of the Witwatersrand, we meet an element entirely absent in the towns of Natal—the poor Dutch. These people, originally country dwellers, have gradually drifted into the towns and form communities on the outskirts, living apart from the ordinary townsman.

Before drifting into the towns these people were, in many cases, bywoners or squatters on the farms of their more wealthy compatriots, often performing some little work for the owner in return for permission to live on the land. In many cases they were poor relations of the landlord. In early days when land was plentiful, game abundant, and money could be earned by transport-riding with wagons and oxen, the position of these people and their patriarchal relations to the landowner was tolerable and in keeping with the times. Gradually the land began to fill up, the landowner wanted his farm for his numerous sons and sons-in-law, and there was no room for the bywoner. At the same time, other circumstances made his position increasingly difficult. The game on which he lived on the high veldt, and which he hunted in winter on the low veldt, became scarce to disappearance, and at the same time railways penetrated the land and made transport-riding a thing of the past. Then came the war and dispersed his friends, relations, and family all over South Africa. The old position on the land could not be resumed as the one-time wealthy farmer, who tolerated the bywoner, had himself to struggle to make a living and rebuild his fortunes, so the bywoner drifted into the outskirts of the towns. Here they live in the

most miserable dwellings and insanitary and unwholesome surroundings. In the old times on the farms, or in the low veldt hunting and trekking with stock, they had their place, and, though poor and unthrifty, had knowledge of game, stock, and the veldt that kept them self-supporting and self-respecting. In the town this knowledge was valueless and they had neither knowledge nor ability that was of any value in their new environment. They had no trades or definite occupation, and they had to accept work of any kind that offered. The worst feature of their position is, that never having worked in their lives in the sense in which the word is used in Europe, they could not begin, so they gradually sank and are still sinking. In their old life the rough work was always done by Kaffirs ; under the old circumstances, the native was practically a serf, and poor as the whites of this class were, they could always command him. In the absence of the salutary discipline of hard work they degenerated and became unable to work, and now they drag out miserable lives on the outskirts of civilization, a cancer in the community.

The Dutch farmers of the high veldt in the districts of Ermelo, Standerton, and Wakkerstroom are of quite a different class. In this country all stock, horses, cattle and sheep thrive and are free from many of the diseases of the country at a lower altitude ; the severe cold in winter is the chief drawback, and this, of course, can be minimized by artificial aids. The farms are large, and the owners, as a rule, fairly well-to-do. Their sheep are a regular and certain source of income, and the farmers use their money well, being thrifty and yet progressive. Physically, mentally, and in character they are a fine race, the flower of the Dutch-speaking population of South East Africa. Many of them, in addition to their high veldt farms, have land in the middle or low veldt to which they send their flocks in winter, and on which natives reside, furnishing them with labour, as but few natives voluntarily live on or care for the rigours of the high plateau.

In the bush veldt or lower country previously described,

the farmers, who are all of Dutch descent, are poorer and usually not such a good stamp as those just mentioned. Here sheep do not thrive, and there is no industry which takes the place of wool production with its certain market and regular income. In the Zoutpansberg and Waterberg, and, to a less degree, in the other districts, many of the country dwellers are very poor, often poverty stricken, and form the class from which the poor whites of the town are recruited. Although the country is not particularly fertile, some few immigrants have shown the older settlers that with labour and intelligence much may be done, but the curse of Africa is on most of them, they have been brought up in an atmosphere in which work is despised, and lost the power to do it. There are natives in plenty, and they have learned to lean upon the black man for labour when they should have been working themselves, and they exploit the natives to keep themselves in idleness. The easy sources of livelihood of the past, hunting and transport-riding, are gone, the struggle for existence has come, and they are unfit and unable to face it.

In the Transkei the bulk of the Europeans are in the northern portion, East Griqualand, an exceptionally well-watered and fertile country and very healthy for all kinds of stock. Most of the farmers here originally came from Natal and are as progressive and prosperous as the best class in the midlands of that province.

In the native portions of the Transkeian territories, including Pondoland, in Swaziland and Basutoland, the Europeans form but a very small proportion of the population, and are practically all officials, traders, or missionaries.

A distinction is often drawn between the management and government of natives by the Dutch and English-speaking population of the country respectively, and among the latter one may frequently hear it said the Dutch know how to manage them, and that as a result the natives living among the Dutch are more respectful and amenable, due to the greater strictness with which they are treated.

There are differences, it is true, but a sweeping generalization such as is often heard does not cover the whole ground, and the comparison made too often does not take into account the different circumstances in which the majority of the Dutch and British live with their resulting different relations to the natives.

The former are invariably in South East Africa country dwellers, living on farms ; the native language, character, and customs are understood by them, and their servants and dependants live among them and are known to them personally. More than half those of British birth and descent are town dwellers, incomers for the most part from oversea, often unaccustomed to command personal service, having been indeed themselves servers and strange to the native, his language, customs, and ideas. It is true that this latter class often sadly mishandle the natives ; their treatment is not consistent, they alternate between familiarity and aggravating and nerve-wearing nagging, the latter attitude often taken up and persisted in through misunderstanding, or as a direct result of their own previous laxity and familiarity. The result is, a bearing on the part of the native which often approaches insolence, and contrasts very unfavourably with the manner and behaviour of natives living on the farms of the Dutch.

But the comparison is hardly a fair one ; it would be better to put side by side the attitude towards and treatment of natives by the Dutch and English-speaking people living under like conditions. If each were asked to put in set terms their opinion of the basic relations of black and white, I do not think there would be very much difference. Nearly all the former and a great majority of the latter would say, white is white, and black is black ; they had been so created, the former to rule, the latter to be ruled. A minority of the British, and perhaps a smaller minority of the Dutch, would admit responsibilities to the native, the former granting he should have opportunity to advance himself in material things, the latter that he should have religious and moral teaching.

But it is in their actual treatment of him in their daily lives that there is a perceptible difference, difficult to describe and convey to another, and yet clear enough to the observer. This difference is, I think, due to the outlook on life of the two white races ; and the treatment accorded to the black man by each resulting therefrom, may be called the patriarchal and the commercial. The Dutch farmer, the true Boer, lives his life on and in the land, it is an end in itself, not the means to an end ; the farmer of British birth regards it as a profession, the means to another end, a competency, a fortune as providing opportunity for a life in another and more comfortable and civilized land, or in any case for travel and enjoyment elsewhere.

The relations between the farmer of Dutch extraction and his native dependant, were therefore very rarely put on a cash basis, both must live ; the impugnable position was that of master and servant, but this being inviolable, the relations might be very amicable and pleasant and well suited to both. The British farmer much more frequently placed the relationship upon a commercial or cash basis, charged rent, and in labour matters looked, not only for personal service and fidelity, but for profit for himself out of labour. The demand for absolute submission by the Dutch farmer sometimes resulted in forcing it by extreme cruelty (cases sometimes come before the Courts which make one throb with indignation), but the usual position was that he took an interest in the lives and affairs of his dependants and often made their simple lives comfortable to them to an extent that was rare in landowners of the other white race. I have often been struck at meetings of large numbers of Dutch families on occasions such as *Nachtmaals*, when the tent wagons were outspanned on the *Kerkplatz*, with the apparently pleasant and accepted relations between the members of the family and the black servants. The latter, especially the girls, are nearly always neatly and suitably dressed, are often well trained, and have a look of docile confidence and well-doing that

denotes content and is pleasant to witness. Not nearly so often does one see these same relations around the homestead of the British farmer. There is more "drive," modern conditions come into operation, and though business fairplay may be granted to the native which would not be understood by the Dutchman, and though extreme severity would not be meted out on occasion, I feel that the patriarchal condition with all its limitations is better understood and more appreciated by the native.

In the country districts a fair proportion of the European inhabitants, especially those born in South East Africa, speak Zulu or Sesuto fluently, and when this is the case the native tongue forms the medium of communication between black and white. It is very seldom that the native learns and uses the English language, and among the Europeans to whom this is their mother tongue, a common medium is found in a broken Zulu locally termed Kitchen-Kaffir. This patois is now generally understood by the natives and takes the place in South East Africa of pidgin-English in the East, or trader Swaheli in Equatorial East Africa. When spoken with deliberation, and great care is taken to instil one's meaning into the mind of the native, it is a useful means of communication, and it is positively wonderful how often the native grasps the meaning of instructions given in terms which, if analysed, would be a philological nightmare. Many English-speaking colonists seem to have a repugnance to hearing natives using the English language, and go so far as to decline to carry on a conversation in it, and so Kitchen-Kaffir is invariably the medium used in the towns and is the rule even in country districts.

Many of the Dutch, on the contrary, expect their servants to speak in the "taal"; and as this simple language is easily picked up, it is the rule among them, and the frequent misunderstandings which arise from the use of Kitchen-Kaffir, when any attempt is made to utilize it beyond the simple needs of house or farm, is largely obviated. The language difficulty is one that leads to much

confusion and waste of time, even when great care and patience are exercised; and when, as is so often the case, inquiries are made or instruction given in unfamiliar terms, and in a hasty and choleric manner, the results are exaggerated and confusion becomes worse confounded.

I think I should say something here of the effect of the climate of South East Africa on the European races living in the country, for though my chief object is to investigate the effect of the black man's presence on the white race, the climate and other surroundings, in so far as they may alter the characteristics and affect the vigour, resiliency, and fertility of the whites, will have a direct bearing on the final result.

Consider first the healthiness of the country in the limited sense of its freedom from disease. The high veldt, in which I include all country over 4500 feet above the sea, is entirely free from fever and other diseases associated with tropical conditions. This country includes nearly all the Transvaal lying west of the Drakensberg and south of the Delagoa-Pretoria railway, the whole of the Eastern Free State which falls within the scope of this inquiry, the higher parts of Natal, and practically all Griqualand East.

In the middle veldt I would include the country between 3000 and 4500 feet above sea-level, and here again in the southern areas there is complete immunity from tropical diseases. This healthy southern area includes the parts of Natal and Zululand lying between these elevations, and that portion of the Transvaal which is east of the Drakensberg escarpment. In the bush veldt of the Transvaal, the country which is in this class is doubtful in proportion to its altitude, the tendency to fever and like diseases decreasing as it rises in elevation.

Country below 3000 feet varies in the degree of freedom from disease with its greater or less approach to tropical conditions. Almost all Natal, even including the coast lands, is healthy in this sense, but Zululand is doubtful even in the south, and the further north one goes and

the lower the altitude the greater the danger. The bush veldt of the Transvaal becomes more and more dangerous as we approach the lower levels and, at its worst, is absolutely deadly.

A country may, however, not be unhealthy in the limited sense in which we have, so far, used the term, viz. in freedom from actual disease, and yet not be such a one in which Europeans can live and attain their highest in physique, stamina, vigour and ability to raise healthy children fully equal to the parent stock, and I want briefly to indicate the conclusions at which I have arrived in this regard from long-continued observations in South East Africa.

The high veldt has been inhabited for two generations by the Dutch. They came principally from the healthy parts of the Cape Colony and were the more adventurous and probably the most fit of an exceptionally vigorous and virile race. In their new surroundings they raised large families and the high-veldt-born men and women are the best testimony to the climate as one eminently suited to Europeans. As a rule they are a large race with big frames, probably a larger type of men and women than any European race, fully equal in this respect to the best specimens of the yeoman one used to see in the border counties of England and Scotland or in Ulster. It is said that the great altitude affects the hearts of those disposed to heart disease, but the health, as well as the physique of the Dutch when in proper hygienic surroundings, seems to show that weakness of any kind is the exception.

Though our experience with regard to Britons and their descendants is not of such long duration, observation seems to show, that men of British race and their children living in the comparatively bracing climate of the high veldt, certainly do not deteriorate physically, but grow to large size and are healthy. The high veldt, in this sense, must be termed a true white man's country.

In a less degree I would say this of the middle veldt.

The hardy appearance and large build of both Dutch and English of the high veldt are not so common here. A certain swarthiness and lassitude is observable among the men, and many of the women appear anæmic and seem to lack stamina. Under the most favourable conditions of housing, food and exercise, full vigour may be maintained, but it is not altogether the gift of the climate, as seems to be the case at the higher altitudes. In summer it is often very hot and trying, and in towns a change to more bracing conditions is almost necessary to preserve perfect health.

At the lower elevations, and especially on the coast, the climate is more trying to the average European. Although in many places the weather conditions for a large part of the year are exceedingly pleasant, there is a lack of the tonic bracing qualities which seem necessary for Europeans in order to attain and preserve the fullest vigour and energy. In less favourable localities, on the actual coast belt, the winter is delightful, but the summer months are extremely hot, and the heat is accompanied by a moist enervating atmosphere. A man in robust health may, by attention to the laws of health and by consciously striving to keep himself fit, maintain perfect health and vigour, but the weakly, and especially women and children, often suffer and become anæmic and run down.

Especially is this the case in the towns among those who live under less favourable conditions and who cannot fit in their lives to suit the climate. The children born and nurtured in the coast towns are, too often, below the standard of their home-born parents, and are somewhat small framed and lacking in vigour. As a rule the population hitherto has been both intelligent and well-to-do, able to maintain a fairly high standard of living, and moderately careful to preserve healthy and sanitary surroundings. Should a population be introduced of a class likely to fall short in these respects, I think it likely, from climatic reasons alone, the standard of physique, health, and vigour will hardly be maintained. The effect of our special en-

vironment—the presence of the black man and the altered conditions he imposes—will be discussed later, and when we consider that question the effect of climate, which tends somewhat in the same direction, must not be overlooked.

Having thus analysed the conditions of the different parts of South East Africa, I would venture to generalize further, and say that—apart from our special environment—the effect of climate, even in the higher parts, is to reduce the briskness and plus-energy shown under harder and more bracing conditions. That, other things being equal, a North Briton would be more active and energetic than a man from the high veldt, the latter than a middle veldt man, and this man again more so than one born and brought up on the coast.

Before I leave this part of my subject, broadly descriptive of the condition of black and white to-day, and before entering into the details of the argument, it may be well to make a point clear. It has been said that time will settle the question, that buoyant and resistant as the native has hitherto been to the evil effects of civilization, so destructive to many primitive races, he will succumb at last and thus our problem be solved. That, as his increase lessens that of the white man will continue ; and that the latter, as the country develops, will be augmented by immigration from oversea. Whether we view such a consummation with equanimity or not it should be examined at this stage of our inquiry.

The natural mind loves an inclusive and unqualified generalization. The somewhat comfortable theory that the black and coloured races always die away before the white man, often in some mysterious way for which the latter is in no sort responsible, is very generally accepted. One may even read in responsible works on sociological subjects the Maori, Red Indian, the Australian black linked up with the Kaffir as all solving the question by leaving the arena open to the European in this very simple fashion.

If there are any clear indications that the Abantu

people of South East Africa are going the way of the Red Man, the Australian black, and the Polynesian, dying out before the white man and his civilization, then the native problem, though serious enough to-day, and likely to be so for a long time to come, will ultimately solve itself.

I have already given my opinion of the physical standard of these people, which I rate very highly ; on this and their fecundity the answer to this question largely depends.

The decline and disappearance of the races who have gone down before the white man seems to be due to several causes. They were unable to make a place for themselves in his civilization ; their conception of life was, as in the case of the Red Man, so utterly different, that exterminating war seemed the only condition possible between them. Then the introduction of European drink has been a factor of prime importance in the decline of all primitive races who have disappeared before the European. The third and perhaps chief cause has been the introduction of diseases hitherto unknown to the natives, but to which the white man, through ages of familiarity, was resistant or comparatively immune.

To my mind none of these causes are going to have the same effect on the Abantu as they have had on many other primitive peoples. They have shown clearly enough in the past, that they have a power of persistence that was not present in the Australian aborigine, the Maori, the Polynesian, or the Red Man ; that, though conservative, they are wonderfully adaptable ; that, whilst the ideal life for them is the pastoral life of the kraal, they can adopt the rôle of labourer in city or country without, so far, any dire race results following. Such a change of life and environment as would follow continuous town life would doubtless, in time, affect their general physical well-being and cause a certain amount of deterioration, possibly in time lower the rate of increase, but it will be a long time in South Africa ere such conditions affect a large number of the Abantu. The vast majority will, for

the greater part of their lives, dwell in healthy surroundings, surroundings probably quite as conducive to health and increase as the environment of the majority of the whites. Lack of power to adapt themselves to the changed conditions set up by Europeans is not going to solve our problem.

The unrestricted supply of European liquor to natives would have a most pernicious effect upon them, and we may admit would probably reduce the race virility and fecundity. But whether in a race so strong and accustomed, for generations back, to consume a certain amount of alcohol it would amount to a serious reduction in their numbers and rate of increase may well be questioned. It is a matter largely of personal opinion ; for myself, I do not think so. I have never heard that the natives resident in the Cape Colony proper, who have access to drink, are threatened with extermination, or that the negroes of the United States are, as a race, likely to die out from this cause. But, after all, is it not an academic question ? The white man of South East Africa is not going to allow the black man to have free access to liquor. His conscience, his desire for the security of his home, his interests, are all against it, and we may dismiss, once for all, the theory that there is any possibility of the Abantu being removed from Africa by the strong drink of the European.

There remains the question of disease, especially new diseases of which the race has not had experience, for it is this class which caused the tremendous mortality amongst other primitive peoples. The most virulent of these diseases are probably tuberculosis, syphilis, and smallpox. To all three the native is, in a measure, accustomed, and already there has been a sufficient time elapsed to give us some idea of the mortality likely to be induced by them. The reports of the district surgeons show that the two first named are probably extending ; the use of clothing without being able to command sufficient change to ensure cleanliness, the habit of remaining in wet

garments, are doing much to cause the spread of lung trouble, access to towns and the immoral habits engendered are carrying the latter to the one-time clean homes of the Abantu.

Every well-wisher of this fine people will deplore causes likely to result in deterioration of their naturally fine physique; and whatever Government may be in power, remedial action in regard to these diseases will undoubtedly be taken, and everything possible done to check deterioration and death which may ensue. But, granting a certain mortality from these causes, the question for us is whether, as in the case of other races, it is going to wipe them out, or even cause decrease in numbers. There is nothing, so far, to show that any of these three diseases, or any other with which we are so far acquainted, is going to have much more effect on the Abantu of South East Africa than they have had among Europeans or the negroes of the Southern States. Their resistant power may possibly not be so high as among Europeans, but it is quite sufficient to prevent race calamity from this cause.

To balance any loss over and above what would be present among Europeans, we have to place their fecundity. All statistics in European countries go to show a gradual, in some cases a rapid, decline of the birth-rate. The generally accepted belief of the ordinary man, based on observation, that smaller families than in the days of our father are now the rule, is amply proved by statistics, and not only in Europe but among those of European descent in the United States and all the British Colonies. By some this is regarded as the most disquieting factor in modern social life—the limited and reluctant response of the best races to the demand of the race for perpetuation in sufficient numbers to achieve their destiny. Although this factor is modified by the reduced death-rate, especially among infants, it must be remembered in considering the chances of the increase of white and black respectively in the sub-continent.

It must, however, at present be limited to Europeans of British descent, and more especially those living in towns. In the country more natural conditions prevail and it is not so pronounced a factor. Entire freedom from whatever is causing smaller families must, however, be claimed for the country Dutch—the true Boers. Excepting perhaps the French-Canadian habitants, no people of European descent is so prolific as the South African Dutch. All marry at an early age, and families numbering between twelve and twenty children are quite common, and small families—the pigeon pair of the comfort-loving British middle class—are almost unknown. How far this will continue in the rapidly changing conditions of their life in South Africa experience only can show. But judging from all that has happened elsewhere among peoples of kindred stock, the changing environment and the absorption of new ideas will mean smaller and smaller families.

The diminishing birth-rate among the comfortable and well-to-do classes of European races is attributed largely to the desire on the part of parents that their children should inherit or begin life in at least the same standard of comfort in which they had been reared. There appears to be a recognition, conscious or unconscious, that large families connote a fiercer struggle on their part and that of their offspring to retain this position or attain a higher social and financial standing.

Until lately these considerations did not weigh with the Dutch-speaking population of South East Africa. All were farmers, living a simple, unostentatious, non-competitive life. The emulation in houses, furniture, style, society, so marked a feature of communities of similar race elsewhere, had little force in their lives. When they became prosperous, a higher standard was often followed, but even in these cases expenditure seldom went beyond a simple, somewhat austere comfort, increased earnings and accumulation went generally to purchase more land, not for speculation, but with the object

of settling thereon their sons and their families to live the old life.

However some of us may deplore it, this healthy patriarchal simple life, making for many virtues all too scarce to-day, is becoming less and less possible. The large farms with their possibilities of an easy pastoral life are being subdivided, and on all sides modern civilization with its emulations and ambitions is impinging on the pioneer. It seems hardly possible for the Boer, conservative as he is, even with the support of the Church, whose great influence is on the side of the old life, to stand against modern influences. The tendency will then be to contract the numbers of the family, and a reduction in the future of the high rate of increase which has been so marked a feature in the past, and which has done so much for the settlement of South Africa and the peopling of its waste spaces with this virile and solid race.

The Abantu are a prolific people not hampered in their progress by the considerations which have so seriously diminished the increase among many Europeans. Every woman marries and an unmarried adult man is rare. Accurate statistics are not readily available, but the fact of their rapid increase in numbers is so apparent that colonists looking around for some reason have often ascribed it to polygamy; and feeling that this apparently supernormal increase was inimical to the interests of their own race, have on this ground advocated the abolition of polygamy. It is remarkable how widely this theory is held, and especially remarkable as it requires but little thought to see that polygamy *qua* polygamy cannot account for a higher rate of increase than if monogamy was the universal custom. It is the females of a race who are the great factor in race increase, and if, as in the case of the Abantu, every woman is married as she comes to the age of puberty, then it matters little whether she is one of the wives of a polygamist or the only wife of a monogamist; indeed for certain reasons, which need not be detailed here, the probability is that the increase

of the race is greater under the latter than under the former system.

Dr. G. M. Theal some years ago addressed a series of questions to men acquainted with natives and their life through the native affairs department of the Cape Colony. One of these questions referred to polygamy, which we are now discussing, and was thus put by Dr. Theal—"What is the average number of children of women married (*a*) to monogamists, (*b*) to polygamists? In the reply to this query please state the number of women from whom the calculations are made. The greater the number the better, but care must, of course, be taken not to include women who are still capable of child-bearing. The only reliable plan will be to question the old women and ascertain how many children she has given birth to and how many wives her husband has had. If the husband was a monogamist note whether Christianity had been embraced. The greatest possible accuracy is requisite to make the reply to this query of value."

Among the replies was one from Mr. Donald Strachan of Umzimkulu, one of the oldest European residents in East Griqualand, known all over the Transkeian territories and Natal as one having exceptional knowledge of, and influence with the natives. As Dr. Theal remarks, his answer was of exceptional value, and evident pains had been taken to obtain reliable information. Mr. Strachan made a return embracing 393 women, the wives or widows of monogamists, and 591 women the wives or widows of polygamists. The 393 women, wives of monogamists, had borne 2223 children or an average of 5.65 to each woman. The 591 women, wives of polygamists, had borne 3298 children, that is an average of 5.58 children to each woman. Neither monogamy nor polygamy in this authentic case made any appreciable difference in the birth-rate.

The number of the sexes born among the natives is practically what it is among Europeans, probably an average of 106 females for each 100 males, which under a social system providing that the normal life of every

man is marriage, is not a great superabundance of females to provide for the polygamist. The actual result of the system as it stands is that, as a means of production, it is probably nearly perfect, for some statistics show the number of women who have never borne children is less than 3 per cent of the whole! Our common observation will make it clear to us that the proportion among Europeans is, at least, four or five times as high.

But the amount of polygamy among the natives has been much exaggerated; the majority are monogamists, and the practice of polygamy, under various influences, is becoming less common.

The following table is a comparison of the position in Natal in 1905 and 1909 :—

| 1905 | | | | | | | | | | over |
|-----------------|-----------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------------|------|
| Total marriages | 1st wife, | 2nd, | 3rd, | 4th, | 5th, | 6th, | 7th, | 8th, | 9th, 10th, | 10 |
| 6404. | 3744, | 1285, | 355, | 116, | 54, | 10, | 9, | 4, | 0, 1, | 5 |

or a total of 1834 polygamous marriages as against 3744 who were marrying their first wife.

In 1909 the position was as under :—

| | | | | | | | | | | over |
|-----------------|-----------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------------|------|
| Total marriages | 1st wife, | 2nd, | 3rd, | 4th, | 5th, | 6th, | 7th, | 8th, | 9th, 10th, | 10 |
| 5981. | 3465, | 1061, | 297, | 97, | 29, | 20, | 5, | 5, | 1, 9, | 1 |

or a total of 1525 marriages of wives beyond the first as compared with 3465 who were taking their first wife.

Dr. Theal deliberately gives as his opinion that in the middle of the nineteenth century we had in the Abantu "a people possessing greater power of increasing their number rapidly than any other on the face of the earth". He recognizes the probability that this fecundity will decrease as time goes on, but evidently thinks that, even under changed and in some respects less favourable conditions, rapid increase will continue with settled and stable government which prevents the wholesale decimation by war and witchcraft of past times.

He makes a comparison of the number of children under fifteen with that of females over fifteen years of age. It is a comparison not usually made but bears out his

contention given above. The table was compiled in 1881 :—

| | |
|---|--------|
| England and Wales | 110'17 |
| Canada | 124'73 |
| United States (European) | 130'76 |
| Australia | 145'62 |
| Abantu of S. Africa under least favourable conditions | 169'98 |
| New Zealand | 177'16 |
| Abantu under most favourable conditions | 195'00 |

Granting then a virile people, all the women of whom marry, who exercise no artificial restraints, but to whom a man child is strength to the clan and a woman child more cattle in the kraal, increase by birth must be rapid. Statistics, as I said before, are difficult to obtain, they are often guesses and not brought up to date, and from them it would not be possible to say exactly how rapid this increase may be, but it is undoubtedly great, though apparently varying in different parts of South East Africa. Every year in Natal and Zululand the hut tax returns are greater, and though registration of births and deaths is very faulty, the births always greatly exceed the deaths.

It would appear, as far as can be ascertained, that during the last five years in Natal proper, nearly 140,000 natives have been born and some 65,000 have died out of a population averaging during that period some 730,000 souls. The birth-rate per 1000 would thus be 37'42 and the death-rate 17'76 for this period. Infant mortality was and is very high: out of a total number of 138,080 born from 1905 to 1909, 21,895 died before reaching the age of one year. This tremendous mortality has been allowed for in our previous figures, which show that to a population of 730,000, 15,000 are added every year. According to the report of the health officer, the native population of Natal will double itself every thirty-seven years. This is borne out by the increase in the number of kraals, which were 60,003 in 1905 and 70,087 in 1909.

The rate of increase seems to be higher in the Cape Colony. In 1891 the native population was 838,136; and in 1904, 1,158,980, or an increase of 25·24 per thousand yearly, thus doubling the population in a little less than twenty-eight years. But the increase is most marvellous in Basutoland. Sir Godfrey Lagden gives the following figures in his book on the Basuto:—

In 1891, 218,324; in 1904, 347,731, or a doubling of the population in a little under twenty years!

It is difficult to account for these very different rates of increase, but they all go to establish what we must take as a fact, that the native increase in different areas and under different conditions is everywhere large and in some cases phenomenal.

Not then by the dying out of the Abantu are we going to solve our problem. What appears on the surface is supported by statistics, confirmed by full observation and inquiry. We have here a race who can persist against strange or untoward conditions, are resistant against disease, so fertile that every year they make up for all drawbacks and losses and add another horde to the race. Our problem includes the fact that the disproportion between white and black in South East Africa is not going to be altered by the failure of the black man to propagate his race.

CHAPTER III.

TRIBALISM—THE OLD SOCIALIST AND THE NEW INDIVIDUALIST.

A TRAVELLER along the roads of Natal and Zululand, will sometimes come across a cavalcade of ten or a dozen natives, dressed in all kinds of heterogeneous garments, some in blankets only, mounted on rough ponies, following a single horseman who is often of large proportions and dressed in European riding costume. This is the chief and his body-guard, his counsellors and praisers. He breaks into a hand gallop, and after him clatter as hard as they can follow the tail, one or more shouting at full pitch the name and titles of his chief, his bravery, generosity, his power and wealth. They arrive at a little store remote in the wilds, kept by a European. The chief dismounts and his followers salute vociferously as he enters the store. Though evidently fully conscious of his standing and position—even did he desire to forget it his praisers would not allow him to do so—he is respectful to the white man, making no pretence at equality with him—a few purchases are made, possibly the retainers are treated, then boot and saddle is called, and away they clatter down the stony road to their home in the depths of the native location.

Trekking slowly along the road on the grassy uplands beyond the Umhlatuzi in Zululand, we met files of natives carrying all kinds of gear and food. One boy a stool, another a few mats, another a huge piece of beef. A gap, then came another gang, similarly laden, singing as they went. Hundreds were thus passed and there was much conjecture as to the reason of this unusual migration. At last, surrounded by old, dignified, astute-

looking counsellors and chiefs, came the one to whom all these people were voluntarily and gladly giving their unrecompensed service, Dinuzulu, the child of the Royal House, the man who, to them, stood for their race.

On a small plain, at the foot of a huge fantastic mountain whose bastions glittered in the sun, were numerous ponies grazing, and a great crowd of men and boys gathered on a cleared space and beating with sticks the collected grain. They were of the Basuto race, and engaged, for the honour of the clan, in threshing the harvest of a son of Moshesh.

Scenes such as these may be observed in all the more remote parts of South East Africa where the people still live, as did their fathers, recognizing their kinship in the tribe and the chief as the visible embodiment of their communal life. All their life is centred in the tribal organization; they live, not unto themselves, but to the tribe and chief, and unless the depth of this attachment is recognized, the true inwardness of the black man's life, mentality, and ideals will be missed. I suppose no white man can fully understand the attitude of the native to his clan. Judging from innumerable instances of fidelity, self-sacrifice, even immolation, there must be fibres in the being of the native, responding at once to the social call, which are either non-existent or are never similarly touched in the white man. At the call of his hereditary chief, the strong but subordinate claims of wife and child, the allurements of cattle and girls are forgotten, no personal advantage, no comforts are considered—the chief as representing themselves—the whole body, of which they form an integral and indissoluble part—has called, all is thrown aside and jubilantly the tribesmen respond.

The white man has his attachment to the town or country in which he was born and reared, and his larger patriotism to the country to which he belongs. But he demands individual rights, and his energies are mainly devoted to obtaining for himself and family better material

conditions, a greater social recognition ; he is by race, upbringing, environment, an Individualist. In proportion to the time, thought, emotion he devotes to his private and personal ends, that given to the community is small. The native as he was, and as he largely is, cannot conceive that he has rights against those of the tribe, devotes only a small portion of his time to actual personal ends, realizes his life in the tribe and in his chief, and is, in every fibre of his being, a Socialist.

In essence, the tribal system is the same throughout all the people we are considering, whether belonging to the Zulu or Basuto side of the Abantu. In the former it may be said generally the chief has more autocratic power ; in the latter the people, through the counsellors, exercise a greater restraint on the actions of the chief, but, with minor distinctions, the system is the same, and in both branches it is woven into the very being of the people.

At the base of the system is the family, of which the head of the kraal is the responsible unit. He may have one or more wives, generally speaking as many as he can obtain, the necessary cattle with which to pay the lobolo being the only impediment. The wives take their status according to ancient custom, and both they and their children are under the direct rule of the kraal head. The boys and young men have recognized duties, the girls and unmarried women their understood work. Cattle and other property is given to the house of each wife, which then belongs to it, but the bulk remains the property of the kraal, vested in its head. In old days, before work for wages was known, the question of ownership of such earnings did not arise. Now it is generally understood that in the case of the younger members of the family they belong to the father ; as they get older a proportion is reserved to the individual, but this varies according as individualistic ideas have invaded and broken down the old conceptions.

On the other hand, it was the duty of the father to, at

least, materially assist his sons to the acquirement of the cattle necessary to procure a wife.

In family matters it lay upon the kraal head to keep order and maintain discipline, and in this direction he had considerable power. He was, in matters affecting the tribe, responsible for the behaviour of the inmates of his kraal, and under obligation to report to the induna of his district and through him to the chief, any matters coming to his knowledge affecting or likely to affect the tribe as a whole. To enable him so to do, it behoved every kraal resident to report at once such matters to the kraal head.

The continuity of the family was secured by a recognized system of devolution, the eldest son of the principal wife being the heir. He not only took the place of his father in respect to the use and enjoyment of property, but undertook his responsibilities and duties, and if there were any liabilities, financial or otherwise, he had to shoulder them. Among natives debt never dies, the individual incurring the debt may die, but his representative, the one who takes his place, takes it in respect of all responsibilities as well as privileges.

I think perhaps this particular feature of native life will bring home to the average reader the radical difference between his outlook and that of the black man; with us to every man his own responsibility, the individualistic; with him the responsibility of the family, the socialistic. With us the individual may free himself from all his liabilities by surrender, and such surrender will only include what can be proved to belong to him—the estate of his wife, of his son, is their own and free; the latter may be rich though the head of the house may be dragged through the bankruptcy court. To a native, this would be unthinkable, as is the process by which a man can repudiate debts he has contracted and yet be blameless. For him there is no such relief, if he cannot pay to-day he must to-morrow, and if he dies his son must take on the family burden after him.

I have known of cases in which a man contracted a

small debt, and careless or unable to pay at the time let it run on. The lender, a white man, charged interest at usurious rates and the debt accumulated. Demand was made, judgment obtained, and the debtor's effects were sold up, including his growing crops. At a forced sale, right away in the location, they realized a mere fraction of their value, and though stripped of everything the debt remained, nay was daily increasing by addition of compound interest. I have known such a debt twenty years old and at the end of the time be six times the amount of the original sum, and yet the debtor had been sold up three times. The debtor died and his son took on the burden; it was his father's and it belonged to him. What would a white man do or think if he were in such a case?

A certain number of kraals in one district are generally treated as a unit, and over them is a headman recognized by the chief of the tribe, and in turn responsible for the district, as the several kraal heads are for their individual families.

Again, above these is the chief to whom the whole tribe looks. In no part of South East Africa have the chiefs the power they had under native regime, and their power is usually in inverse ratio to their contact with the white man, his government, and his individualistic methods. In Basutoland and Zululand their power, prestige, and authority are greater than in Natal, and in Natal it is greater than in the Transkei. Every native in Natal who has not been specially exempted from native law by passing certain tests and being personally approved by the Supreme Chief, must be attached to some tribe, no matter whether he lives in a house or hut, is a barbarian or civilized. It appears singular to those to whom tribalism connotes barbarism to find that civilized and Christian natives, living in surroundings at least as advanced as those of some of the peasantry of Europe, are part of the following of a chief and subject to his jurisdiction, liable, among other things, to be called out by him for compulsory labour on the roads. But so it is, and though some of

the advanced natives desire and obtain emancipation, the tribal idea is so ingrained in their being that they accept the position of tribesmen and its limitations and obligations with what appears to the European marvellous resignation.

According to native custom the people of the tribe belong to the chief; he has a right to service under certain conditions, can call them out to war, can punish for offences against himself and the tribe. Men who would disdain to do certain menial labour, which was accounted the work of women, for themselves, will willingly give such service to the chief if called upon to do so. His exact powers varied with different tribes and at different times among the same tribe, and much depended on his character and personality. Zulu history shows that a tyrant may deluge his country with blood, no man being safe from his oppression, and be followed by others whose rule was mild by comparison. This has probably been the history of chieftainship among the Abantu in the past. A warlike and sanguinary despot has laid a heavy yoke on his people, and was tolerated while in the full tide of his strength; when it became unbearable he was dealt with as was Tyaka, and followed by one who instituted a milder era.

For it must be remembered that though the chiefs had power which we would deem despotic, in the last resort they only ruled as representing the people, and there are checks which, though sometimes held long in abeyance, work relief at last. Tyaka became unsupportable, and the people recognized, when he was killed by Dingaan, that the time had come. An ordinary chief cannot act in despite of the general opinion of his people for any length of time, and although there are no constitutional checks as we understand them, and no system by which the people's will on any subject can be definitely stated, it can be made known in many ways, and public opinion counts for much in the tribal system. Attached to the Court of the chief were counsellors, men of age and

established repute, not elected, but recognized by virtue of their ability and popularity, who were consulted on all matters of importance, and who, in some measure, reflected and voiced the opinion of the tribe. Much, of course, in an elastic system such as this, depended on the character of the chief and his counsellors, but there can be no doubt but that in the majority of cases, great as was the devotion to chief as chief, the will of the people prevailed, though meantime a powerful ruler might do much in opposition to it.

The land of the tribe was vested in the chief as trustee for the community, and in return for the tribal fidelity and service of the people it was his duty to find a place on the land sufficient to their several needs for all those of the tribe who needed it.

As trustee and personal representative of the clan he had great powers, but he had great responsibilities. If, as chief, he could call out the men of the tribe to war, it behoved him to so conduct operations, personally or by deputy, that the tribe should not be worsted and broken up; but be increased in power and prestige by his actions. If as chief he could demand personal service, he must in turn see that every man had land on which he could make his living. He had power to protect the tribe from anti-social acts on the part of any member of it, even to life and death, but this power must not be used in arbitrary fashion too often, or with a sole eye to personal advantage; it must have social sanction.

To understand the attitude of the native mind to this system is, to the white man, with his present-day ideas of the rights of individuals to the full reward of personal efforts, to abstract justice before a court of his peers, to freely express his opinions—none daring to make him afraid, is, I say, extremely difficult. It appears to me, however, that no right understanding of the black man is possible unless we can in this respect, at least approximately, put ourselves in his place.

Superficial observers, impregnated with the ideas of

their race, condemn the system root and branch, and would incontinently make an end of it. They regard the natives as groaning under a despot who for his own personal gain, and base and selfish ends, fines them for trifling offences to fill his own pockets, punishes them for imaginary offences such as witchcraft, demands service when they have the inalienable right to it for their sole personal benefit.

Not so does the black man regard it.

He may not be able to formulate his views, sub-consciously only may they be held, but they are part of his being, the result of his race genius, the outcome of the thought and mind-working of generations of his ancestors. Individually he stands alone and helpless against the mighty and mysterious powers of Nature, the supernatural, and the constant warring of his enemies who surround him on every hand. Only by combination with those of his own race can he hope to combat these dangers and remain alive, and he is willing, nay joyful indeed, to become personally subservient to the social order which makes him strong enough to survive. So, gladly as one of the clan, he puts into the hands of its representative, he who stands for all, powers which are to protect all. He is the chief's man because the chief is the tribe, the personal embodiment of all.

If analysed, it will be found that the powers of the chief, which we often regard as designed by himself for his own advantage, are delegated to him for social ends and to protect the tribe against social disintegration. He goes to war, in the eyes of the clan not for his own glory, but to increase the power and possessions of the tribe, to add to the prestige of all. He punishes witchcraft because the evil doers, by their anti-social arts, kill men and diminish the strength of the clan, and he, as representing the people, has the power to take their possessions into better keeping for the public good. He fines his subjects for murder, keeping the fines himself and only giving a portion to the relatives of the dead

man, because he, as the representative of the tribe, has been injured in the reduction of its fighting strength. He carries out what, to his European critics, seem absurd regulations based on ancient custom, such as the prohibition to eat the green crops until he has gone through some apparently ridiculous forms and ceremonies. But these forms are sanctioned by the people, and mean that the food of the nation shall not be squandered, and all be in danger of starvation, through the greed and improvidence of the few.

Cause and effect are difficult to trace in social affairs. What is really an effect we often consider the cause, and what is, at bottom, a cause, we think an effect. How far the tribal system as outlined is the cause of some of the characteristics of the native mind and life (as indicated in a previous chapter), or to what extent his character has formed his social system one cannot tell,—probably character in part formed the system, and the system reacted on character. I think, however, we may profitably revert to one or two of the characteristics of the Abantu in the light of what we know of the social order of the people.

I have pointed out how extraordinarily law-abiding these people are even to-day; a respect for law seems ingrained into their being. Certainly to that end the tribal system tended. Every Zulu in the land, said Cetywayo, knew the law. And knowing it he kept it. It may and has been said that this was due to the drastic punishment meted out to offenders. To some extent this is true, but the spirit of the people made the law, and their sanction was in the end the justification for the punishments.

Their hospitality, and unselfishness, the willingness to share all with their tribesmen, and at the same time their cruelty and indifference to suffering, have been mentioned. To some extent, the latter is due to their disregard to what we consider comfort and their comparative indifference to pain. But may it not be that the friendly and hospitable attitude is due to the subconscious feeling

that it is against the interests of the community to allow people who form the strength of the clan to starve, and that common interests and action demand common obligations? And their cruelty, which was principally shown in punishments for witchcraft, when indescribable tortures were often inflicted, was because this was regarded as the greatest anti-social crime and no penalty was too heavy to punish it adequately.

I remember when I first came to Natal being struck by the absence of anything like emulation in the work done by the natives. No one tried to excel the others; if the work was laborious, such as lifting heavy weights to a height, the experienced European overseer incited them to general co-operation, to rhythmic action, and as one body, singing in common, they lifted or pushed in harmony. Longer experience of and with the Abantu shows me that my half-instinctive impression of those days was right, and that I recognized the fundamental clan instinct which underlies and explains so much, though, not in those early days, realizing its full significance.

The European, saturated with individualism, always on the lookout to obtain individual advantage to help on his social or material position among his fellows, sees what he considers "openings" for the native to do the same. If he only bought a cart or wagon he could utilize the fat and lazy oxen eating off their heads in idleness, ride transport, and thus make money for himself; if he used the manure lying in the kraal to fertilize his garden the crops would be doubled, and instead of having barely sufficient for his family needs he could sell and again make money. The white man sees that the native lives in a situation which commands the trade of a district, and which if utilized would enable him to make money in barter and trade. But the black man, though these "openings" may be pointed out to him, and he be urged to take advantage of them, does not respond, excepting, perhaps, by politely acknowledging the superior insight of the white man; he makes no movement to secure for himself

the benefits so patent to the European. The latter stands aghast at such obvious stupidity ; that any human being should continue to live in such hand to mouth fashion when comparative wealth could be obtained by small outlay and effort is inconceivable to him, and he brands the native as incorrigibly lazy and worthless in his scheme of things. Indeed, the native has not been touched by the appeal and the " tips ". He is a black man and it is not his way.

He cannot tell you the reason for his unresponsiveness for he does not know it himself, but he feels it in his very being. He is not for himself as is the white man, he is one of many forming the clan, the tribe, the nation which was built up and can only be perpetuated in its present form by the sacrifice of the individual for the common good. You will be told by those who live among the tribes that it is almost impossible to get any individual to diverge from the old customs sanctioned by use and wont during past generations, that if an individual plants trees, uses manure, grows rich by novel methods, it is not looked upon with favour. In the ancient days, such a one would be clearly shown that his innovations were regarded as anti-social by being eaten up on a charge of witchcraft. To-day, this is not possible, but pressure, impalpable, though no less felt, makes the individualist feel that he is not playing the game. But such pressure is not often exercised, for subconsciously each tribal unit feels he would be shaking a little mortar out of the clan-structure by initiating such unrecognized innovations, and he follows the ancient custom, though all around he sees the material benefits the white man heaps up to himself by thinking out and adopting other methods.

It would not be possible, probably it would be unthinkable, for an ordinary native to analyse and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of his social system. It is so much a part of him, he accepts it as so much a part of the unalterable scheme of things, that it would be impossible for him to detach himself sufficiently to view it

from the outside. But taking his place, we can, I think, if we view it impartially and without race bias, if we free ourselves from our accustomed accepted standpoint, see many advantages to the native from his utter and complete acceptance of the tribal system and what it implies.

First and most obvious, it has made possible the continued individual and family life of the people. United, with recognized responsibilities, under a chief who had authority to maintain ordered rule, to organize the tribe so as to strengthen its position by attack or maintain itself against invasion, the tribe stood for the possibility of living at all. Divided into family units, without the strength given by their cohesive instincts, the Abantu might, ere this, have been on the road down which the Bushman has disappeared.

Tribal politics, the co-operation necessitated by the common interests, the subordination of selfish ends to the well-being of the whole, have undoubtedly been a great factor in forming the character of the native and making him, for better or worse, what he is. As pointed out, to the influence of his associated relations must, in part at least, be credited some of his best and most likeable qualities, his courtesy, kindness, hospitality.

When the Zulus and kindred tribes were first visited by Europeans, although their standard of morals, using the word in a narrow and conventional sense, was, perhaps, not such as would be considered high, the coarser phases of rank sensualism, common among many primitive peoples, and the deplorable issues wrought among civilized peoples, despite the teachings of Christianity and philosophy, were unknown to them. Rigid was the rule and rigidly was it obeyed; their virile animal propensities, full-blooded desires, kept in restraint by a code Draconian in its severity, for the penalty was death. The results were such as to compel the admiration of those of a higher race, whose ethical standards were theoretically purer, but which were, in practice, broken or ignored by a vastly larger proportion of those nominally accepting

them. It built up a people who, within the limits of the law they themselves made, were restrained to an extent that would not have been possible under a more individualistic social system.

A sense of responsibility was also fostered by it. An individual transgressing must be reported to the higher authorities by his immediate clan associates, the kraal head was responsible to the district induna, the latter to the chief. To an extent which is difficult of comprehension by Europeans was this responsibility accepted. The cattle-stealing Acts of the Cape Colony and Natal make it imperative on the residents of a kraal, when the spoor of stolen cattle is traced to their immediate vicinity, to take up the spoor and prove that the cattle have left their neighbourhood, or if unable or unwilling to do this to take the responsibility of the theft and be punished accordingly. To a European who believes that a man should be considered innocent until absolutely proved guilty, the onus of proof resting on the prosecutor; and who also holds that each individual must be solely responsible for his own misdeeds, this idea of collective responsibility and punishment of a community unless they could prove their innocence is abhorrent. But it is not so to the native. So steeped is he in this sense of clan responsibility that the tribal native saw no manner of injustice in this enactment—it appealed to him as being rational, and many laws, to us based on absolute justice, have been utterly distasteful, whilst this one, quite foreign to our ideas of right, has been accepted by the black man as right.

If we view the character of a people as being the justification for any law, code of law, or social system we must, I think, rate the tribal system in vogue among the Abantu very highly.

But there are undoubted disadvantages which go to balance these. The tendency to lean upon the chief as representative of the tribe, to subordinate individual action to the social requirements, lowered the power of

initiation, tended to conservatism, and in its practical application prevented progress in the material arts and in the mode of living.

I have already mentioned the innate conservatism of the Abantu as seen among the different tribes in all parts of South East Africa. On the farms, alongside the irrigation works, the steam plant, the high cultivation and improved stock of the European is the bee-hive hut, the wretched cultivation, the Zulu cattle and common goats of the native. Within an easy day's walk of centres of civilization, with every discovery of science applied to the daily life of its inhabitants, the native lives as his forefathers did before the time of Tyaka. And this with a mental capacity which is far above what would be necessary to acquire and benefit by many of the facilities and amenities daily before his eyes. We hinted at this phase of his character before. What is the reason? Part at least, and I think a great part, is due to the phase of his environment now under consideration; due to his social system, his intense conscious and subconscious recognition of the tribe—his individuality has never been awakened, and meantime he cares for none of these things. It would not be possible to get from a native a reasoned answer to our question. He would evade it, or possibly, not quite understanding, surmise a motive and give the stereotyped reply. It is not our custom.

I think there is little doubt that for the majority, could the choice be given, they would elect to live for ever in the old ancestral way, not wanting or bothering about any one of the material benefits or ameliorations of life so freely used by the white man. Gladly indeed would they choose to be left to themselves to live as did their fathers.

The clan system, from our point of view, gives far too much arbitrary power into the hands of chiefs. In the old days this was, until despotism became intolerable, practically unlimited; power of life and death and the utter destruction of a man and his family might be in the

hands of the chief. To-day, although his legal power is cut down to a minimum, he can, if he so wills, make life difficult for those he dislikes. European residents in remote districts can instance cases of injustice and oppression on the part of chiefs which seem to them intolerable, and cause them to feel that the whole system should be swept away. To this aspect of the case we will recur later on; meantime we mention the fact as one which, at all events from our point of view, should be placed to the debit of the system. But it must always be remembered that what, to us, would be gross injustice may not be regarded as such by the native, and that before we give judgment we must do all we can to endeavour to look at it from his standpoint.

I can quite imagine many of those who know the natives intimately saying that in the general view I have given of the clan system I have exaggerated its importance; that although perhaps true of the position before the arrival of the white man, or for some time after his advent, the native has changed, and among the changes not the least is that he no longer reverences his chief or holds to his tribe as he once did; that the effect of the clan system, either for good or ill, is not so great as has been stated, and the whole position being now governed by the white man, it is not consistent with his ideals that the system and its abuses should be allowed to continue.

The actual position varies in different parts of South East Africa, and everywhere the system has been gravely modified by the white man and his government. In every portion of the country with which we are dealing, even in those in which the system is recognized fully by Government, influences are at work which are tending in rapidly progressive measure to shake the foundations of the clan system. Looked at from outside it seems based upon the authority of the chief; get beneath the surface and it is seen that its ultimate justification is in the character of the people, in the race genius of the Abantu.

We have frequently insisted on the conservatism of these people and the comparatively slight changes in their outward life wrought by the presence of the white man. But this must not blind us to the tremendous influence which is being brought to bear upon them daily and hourly by his presence. It is indeed marvellous that the outward and visible sign of change should have been so apparently small.

The immigration of white people of British descent into Natal began, about 1850, to be of considerable dimensions, and since that date the Abantu people have been in the very closest contact with the civilized white man. The black man has cooked the food of the European on a range of the most modern construction, and waited at the table at which that food appeared, food the most varied and luxurious ; yet the native, when the white man is satisfied, retires to his mealie meal porridge, cooked in a three-legged iron pot which stands on the earthen floor of the outhouse provided for him, and there, squatting on his haunches, he dips into this common receptacle along with his fellow servants, the stable boy and the garden boy. On the farm at which he is employed and on which he lives, he milks the cows, works the cream separator, making most excellent butter, which he carries to the village store. He knows the whole operation, industrial and commercial, from the time the cow is milked to the appearance of the butter on the counter. Yet he goes to his kraal and makes amasi from the milk as his fathers did, and, so far as I know, though the natives of Natal owned, before East Coast fever, hundreds of thousands of cattle, not a single pound of butter has ever been sent to market by any one of them.

The native loves the inside of a store, delights to lounge there and spend his money, and in his purchases is most discriminating and exacting, and those who cater for his wants have to make a very special study of his requirements. Fashions in beads and blankets are constantly changing, and the movements of fashion have to be most

closely watched by the wholesale importer and the retail dealer. The trade is an enormous one and very lucrative ; large fortunes have been made in it in past years. In Natal and the Transvaal the retailing of Kaffir truck is largely in the hands of Asiatics, who have learned the intricacies of the trade and ousted the white man. But the native himself, who knows his own requirements best, who surely should be best qualified to do the trade of his fellows, who in some cases knows something of the money being made by the European and Asiatic out of him, who now and then is employed as a salesman, stands on one side and makes no attempt to capture the trade of his own people. One or two natives have from time to time opened stores and taken to trading on a small scale, but it is so unusual a thing as to call for general remark.

One could understand the slight effect made upon him if he had lived his whole life apart, as the North American Indians did, or even as the Maories of New Zealand. But he has come into the closest contact with the white man and his ways, acted as nursemaid, cook, laundryman, driver, groom, gardener, chambermaid, ploughman, herd, dairyman, salesman in native stores, labourer to all artisans and mechanical trades, miner, dock labourer, and that for over sixty years, and yet the outward changes in his own life are hardly noticeable.

But those who know him best are not deceived by this apparent steadfastness in his old ways. They know that, conservative as he is, he is changing, that underneath his surface immobility, he is being gradually altered, and that this is accumulating and will probably, before long, become apparent in various ways. The effect of the individualism of the European has been gradually working upon the socialistic native, and his adherence to the clan system, and his fidelity to his chief as the outward manifestation of his inward and inherited nature, is being slowly undermined. In all directions, whether the white man is exploiting him for his own benefit, or with altruistic motives is labouring for the uplifting of the native, the tendency

is the same, to awaken and strengthen his individuality, to weaken his sense of responsibility to and dependence upon the family and tribe.

At every meeting the Natal Native Commission held with chiefs, headmen, and kraal heads the cry was the same, our young people are getting out of hand, instead of recognizing and obeying their fathers and guardians they disobey and sometimes disown. Sons, who should be working for the house, appropriate all their earnings to themselves, daughters flaunt their elders to their face, and, duty disowned, claim a right to go to towns or mission stations.

The question of raising revenue by means of a poll tax, payable by all adult males of all races in the colony of Natal, was, a few years ago, before the Legislature of the colony. The discussion revealed, in a remarkable way, the difference of outlook between Europeans, however familiar with native modes of thought, and the natives themselves. One chief reason advanced in the Legislature for the imposition of this tax on native young men was that they did not personally pay hut tax, and should therefore be made to contribute to the expenses of the state. It is true that a voice was raised in the Legislative Assembly pointing out that this call upon the young men, as individuals, would tend to destroy the chain of responsibility which was at the root of the tribal system, and free them from the control of the elders; but this argument, going to the root of the matter as it did, carried no weight nor did it appeal to the majority of members. Though the kraal heads, as paying hut tax, were free from the operation of the poll tax, the burden of their complaint was against the latter tax, not one grumbled at having to pay hut tax. The ground of complaint was a social one, and it was voiced at every meeting from Northern Zululand to Southern Natal and voiced in the same terms. They said the imposition of this tax drives a wedge into the line of responsibility; the young men, being made individually responsible for this tax, become independent, and refuse to help their

fathers to pay hut tax or to listen to them. The tendency to insubordination, which was growing before, has been accelerated by this impost, and now we fear our young people will get altogether out of hand. The aspect of the case that was of little moment to the individualistic European was the one that immediately appealed to the socialistic native.

The same subtle influence is working in all our mutual relations. Not a boy leaves his home and comes into town to work, but he imbibes the idea that he is working for himself, and he himself should benefit by his labour. Not a girl goes to the mission station, but she assimilates the idea that she is to improve herself, and awakens to the fact that she is placed in competition with others and must exercise her own faculties for her own individual improvement. Her religious instruction tends to make her anxious to save her own individual soul. The spirit of common responsibility and mutual help, engendered by the clan system, is gradually being undermined. Travelling to centres of employment and the conditions there found, familiarity with new ideas, with European modes of life and industry, Christianity itself, are all working to the same end.

I may be quoted against myself, and the innate conservatism of the natives and the slight effect on their home life so far made by these changed conditions be stated to argue the likelihood that they will, in the future, remain still unaffected. Not so—the leaven is now in the lump, the mass has not yet risen; there is, so far, but little to be seen on the surface, but a time is coming when the inner spiritual changes are going to make profound changes in the outlook on life and its outward and visible manifestation in these people. What form this may take we cannot at present tell, but it is certainly our duty as the governing race to recognize what is taking place and to make due provision, so far as our insight and ability carry us, to guide them in a right channel, for, unrecognized and unregulated, they may prove a devastating torrent.

Perhaps the best method of getting to understand the change that is taking place in the mental attitude of the whole people is to make some study of those who have gone furthest along the path now being entered upon by the great mass of the natives.

I have, hitherto, spoken as if the whole of the Abantu peoples of South East Africa were in a somewhat similar state of civilization, or evolution, from a primitive stage of society ; and to prevent complication this was necessary, as it does apply to the vast mass. But many, while still members of a tribe, have openly, to a greater or less extent, cut themselves off from the ordinary tribal life, and some again in Natal have, under statute, exempted themselves from native law and come under the usual law of the colony.

Some consideration of these people ought certainly to throw a light upon what is likely to happen, when the great mass of the people follow along the individualistic path already trodden by this minority. It is by a consideration of missions and the mission work, and the nature of the outcome of that work, that we can learn most in this connexion. I will, in the next chapter, give fuller consideration of missions from different aspects, and I only propose here to inquire how far the methods of the European have modified the socialistic feelings of the native, and what he has become in consequence ; so for the moment we only want to consider the native who has broken from the tribal system from this point of view. The majority of these either are or have been connected with missions, although the proportion of those who have been led to the new attitude, through other than mission influences, is getting greater every year. At one time either a native was tribal—raw, green, red, blanket, the various names given to the primitive man,—or he was a mission Christian, a kolwa or believer. Broadly speaking, in past times every native wearing clothes was regarded as a Christian, every unclothed native a heathen. This clear distinction does not now hold good. Other influ-

ences than those of the missionary have induced natives to dress in European fashion, to build square houses, and to eat European food. But in all these, whether of the majority who have acquired the change through mission influence, or the minority, now rapidly increasing, who have done so impelled by other influences or agencies, from our present point of view the result is, that the tribal spirit in them is weakened, they no longer respond to the social call as they once did, and they are becoming permeated with the individualistic life and aspiration they see all around them.

Outwardly, the change is often not altogether a pleasant one. It is a usual thing, among colonists, to compare the dignified, quiet, courteous, and respectful attitude of the father who has never left his kraal, except for short intervals, with the travelled son who has a manner sometimes sullen, again jaunty, but always self-conscious and self-assertive, who has been taught to read and write at a mission station and received the impress of Durban or Johannesburg. The comparison made is all to the disadvantage of the latter, and the conclusion is drawn that the native is deteriorating and being rapidly spoiled. What has been said of the influence of the more subtle weakening of restraint in the mass is shown, in augmented degree, in this class. Too often the deterioration in manners which is certainly common, goes the length of being unabashed impudence, and is accompanied by selfishness and lack of consideration for others, qualities foreign to native character. There are numerous exceptions, but it could hardly be expected that such a change in environment on natures for the most part unprepared for the change, should result in unmixed good. And such is actually the case, and it forms one aspect of our problem.

How far are we, the governing race, to conserve the restraints and influences of tribalism? How far should emancipation, with too often its outward deterioration, be tolerated or encouraged? Is it likely that, as further development proceeds, the outward changes now obvious

will be correlated with other changes which we might approve? Will the final balance be for good or ill? These questions, with many others, must be the subject of our gravest, deepest consideration, for on our answers will depend our attitude and our action towards some of the deepest instincts of the Abantu, and much in the future of both races depends upon it.

When one reflects upon it, the attitude of the black man to the white is one that deserves some consideration. When they first met in South East Africa the black man was in the plenitude of his power. Tyaka and his impis dominated the land, irresistible, never conquered and full of pride in their prowess. The white man came, few in numbers, without pomp or circumstance, as we know from contemporary records often hungry and nearly naked, the black man could have eaten them all up with ease, and yet from the first and until now, the black man has universally acknowledged him superior. It is singular and compels thought to see a white man, deficient in physical and will power, of known bad character, possibly drunk, dirty and ragged, demanding and obtaining deference from another physically, mentally, and morally far his superior. Seldom indeed is the race recognition denied, whatever may be the failings and shortcomings of the individual. A deference similar in quality to that so freely given to their chiefs was regarded as due to any representative of the white race, and the black, accustomed ever to obey, so acknowledged the white.

The emancipating process we have seen in progress gradually disintegrating the tribal fidelity to and reverence for their chiefs, is affecting and attenuating the respect for and dependence upon the white man, hitherto so noticeable a characteristic of the Abantu. The individual 'muntu now often treats the individual European on his merits and not as the representative of a superior race. Probably a stranger coming amongst these people, would to-day be charmed with their respectful manner and see little to which exception could be taken. And he would be right ;

but we, who knew them in the old times, know there is a change, a change in manner and a change in attitude. Partly through our own fault, more by reason of circumstances, we are not now to the native the supremely able just ones whose word should be law.

Among the educated ones, there is a desire to do for themselves what they have hitherto allowed the white man to do for them and to free themselves from his control. It is symbolic of the character of the race that this attempt at self-realization should first operate in the sphere of religion, and should have a strong savour of politics about it. Not so to advance as to make himself independent in economic affairs, to emulate the white man in doing and making, but to desire to free himself from supervision and to talk for himself, is indeed characteristic of the native once he has freed himself from tribal restraints.

The development this new freedom has taken, has been to form churches or organizations free from the control of any recognized European Church or missionary body. They desired to manage their own affairs under their own people. In some cases, the primary or ostensible reason for withdrawal was personal, a difference of opinion or incompatibility between the European missionaries and prominent native members of the Church. Such secessions have principally been from the Wesleyan body, but have happened in several other denominations; the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Church of England all losing adherents who established churches of their own. It does not appear that the underlying cause was, in any case, a difference of religious opinion or doctrine, although new tenets, often not formulated and partaking of political opinions, are supposed to have been introduced into the new organizations. The movement was strengthened by the appearance in South Africa of emissaries from the United States, principally connected with the African Methodist Episcopal Church of that country, some of whom held the rank of bishop. They gained adherents and published a paper "The Voice of

Missions," which certainly, at times, preached opinions and doctrine calculated to evoke and spread disloyalty to constituted authority. In evidence given before the South African Native Commission, however, the witnesses representing this church disclaimed any desire to propagate political opinions, and in 1904 a formal declaration was issued signed by thirteen bishops containing the following statements concerning the objects of their church :—

"In all of our movements in South Africa we shall seek to help and not to hinder, to assist in advancing enlightened and healthful influences and not to impede them, to foster and encourage loyalty and obedience to lawfully constituted authority and not to breed disaffection and anarchy. In relation to all religious denominations our position is that of fraternity and co-operation in any and every way that will help to bring the heathen to a knowledge of the true God.

"It is no part of our business to concern ourselves with politics. We shall strictly confine our endeavours to civilization, education, and Christianization. Our theory in regard to the education of the natives is the rudiments of an education for all, industrial training for many, a college education for the talented few."

A declaration of policy which is admirable, and to which no reasonable person can take exception. The first important secession from a church controlled by Europeans, was that of the Rev. J. M. Dwane and his followers from the Wesleyan communion in 1894. It is noteworthy that this body first joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church just mentioned, but relations became strained, and in 1899 application was made to the Church of South Africa (the Church of England in South Africa), and after full inquiry and long negotiations they were admitted into that body as the Order of Ethiopia, and they are an integral part of the Church of England in South Africa to-day. Apart from, and in addition to those mentioned, there are independent bodies forming separate organizations under purely native control in

different parts of South East Africa who are lumped together generally by Europeans as "Ethiopians". The current theory among Europeans regarding them is that the principal cord binding them together is the doctrine of "Africa for the Africans" or "Africa for the black man," but what is exactly meant or implied by this phrase or belief seems difficult to ascertain. Whether it means or aims at the expulsion of the white man, or what political organization is to replace the rejected one, no one seems to know. There is much conjecture and rumour, but little accurate knowledge. I think that probably the preachers of and believers in the doctrine have never themselves formulated anything very definite, and that the movement has not, at present, got further than a religious propaganda with independent organization and certain vague political quasi-beliefs, which are naturally somewhat on the same lines as the feelings which prompted the original secession in matters religious; a considerable amount of emotion and not much clear thinking.

Governments have been alarmed, and administrative action has been taken to discountenance any independent religious organizations among natives. Apart from the particular doctrines inculcated, there has been a feeling that no activities, of the nature of preaching or teaching, should be undertaken by natives alone, that all such instruction should be under the direct control of the white man. The Natal Government went so far as to prevent the erection of any out station for preaching in the locations, unless a permanent resident European missionary actually lived on the station, and in some cases, unfortunately, went so far as to destroy buildings which had been erected without permission or without full compliance with the Government conditions. The Natal Native Commission, who went fully into this question, were of opinion that the Government had been unduly alarmed, that they were not justified in their drastic action; and the extreme restrictions with regard to out stations have now been removed.

The developments indicated were, I think, only to be expected from the premises. The whole current of events since the white man came into the land has been to make the native more individualistic and to free him from his old sanctions and restraints ; the atmosphere was charged with the change. In addition, the educated ones were taught directly and by implication, that they were to think and act for themselves, be independent and self-reliant,—the antithesis of the old order of things. Those who displayed initiative and resource were praised, the dull, and those who spoke and acted under authority, were not much regarded. The conscious policy too of some of the mission bodies, if not all, was to gradually encourage their converts to so direct their thoughts and energy, that in time they might organize and evangelize their own people and be the direct and immediate means of preaching the gospel they had received to their heathen brethren.

Yet, with all these tendencies in operation, many of us expect the native to remain under white control of the strictest in all his activities, and never attempt to think and act for himself, or to lead an independent existence in any field of effort. We destroy directly or indirectly the social system he himself has built and in which he lived conformably to his nature, we make little or no attempt to put anything in its place, urge him by conscious act and speech and by unconscious action to leave the old and become individualistic, and then, when he obeys and begins to organize by himself and for himself, we wonder and protest.

That this independent attitude in religious affairs may tend to similar views in matters political is possible, and may result in seditious talk and act. So far as this is the case, punishment must be prompt and severe, but to what extent the desire to stand alone should be discountenanced is another matter. Much depends on the view which may be taken of our true policy for the future in regard to native affairs. The advocate of the continuation of the present course by which the black man is almost inextric-

ably mixed up with the life of the white man, and who, more and more, is getting involved therein, would probably deprecate it. To those who primarily look upon the native as the source of cheap labour, whose idea of a successful native policy is summed up in, control by the whites, quietude and acceptance by the blacks, any such aspirations and developments are intolerable. To those who think each race has a value of its own, has its own race life to live, and that it is possible for them to develop on parallel lines, and who believe that to intermingle them is probably to lose the best in each and cause inextricable confusion, this desire on the part of the natives to conduct some part of their lives in their own way is not without hope for both races. Of this I purpose to deal later. Let us remember as a fact, pregnant of meaning, that, so far, the furthest development of the fundamental change brought into their lives by our presence, has been, through the awakening to individualism, a desire towards another and different social order in which they shall manage their own affairs and stand by themselves.

This desire to detach themselves from Europeans and European influence in matters of religion, and form churches of their own, is not singular to the Abantu of South East Africa. It is a strong feature among the negroes of the Southern United States, Jamaica, Haiti and elsewhere, and I cannot learn that it is commonly associated in these countries with political aspirations or agitation. The negro sometimes seems to feel that the doctrine and practice of the white man's religion is in some ways not adapted to and is insufficient for his needs. This is not surprising when we consider the immense differences in constitution and temperament between the two races. The coloured man evolves variants which sometimes take the form of a reversion to old, far-away, half-remembered or subconscious African superstitions, or are sometimes new and not unseldom grotesque. But this development seems certainly to be characteristic of the negro, and now we find something similar to it in the Abantu.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSIONS AND EDUCATION—THE ALTRUISM OF THE WHITE MAN.

YESTERDAY, September 28th, 1910, was a notable day in the annals of the American Zulu Mission in Natal. From the half share of the rents of the Inanda Mission reserve, paid by the natives resident thereon to the Government, and in turn paid over to the Missionary Society to be expended on works of betterment for the natives, a large new brick school had been built. This was the day appointed for the formal opening of the building, and the Secretary for Native Affairs for the Province of Natal was asked to undertake this office. He was accompanied by district Native Commissioners and members of the Natal Native Council, prominent European residents in the district, and ladies interested in the work.

Early in the day the visiting party were met at the Mission Station by those resident there engaged in the work, notable among whom were Mrs. Edwards, now 82 years of age, and the Rev. Mr. Pixley who is 81, whose lives have been devoted to the religious instruction and moral betterment of the Qadi tribe, among whom they had lived for the greater part of those many years.

After inspection of the general mission activities, a meeting was held in the large church; it was crowded with the pupils of both branches of the work, one of which was the instruction of girls in their 'teens, who were taught the ordinary school subjects up to the sixth standard, also house and laundry work, and younger girls and boys who attended the primary school. Filling up every available corner of the building, standing in the open

doorways, and overflowing into the open, grassy, tree-shaded space around the church, were hundreds of the tribe. The older girl pupils were uniformly dressed in white, clean in person and dress, bright and intelligent-looking, quiet with suppressed excitement. No observant onlooker could fail to be impressed by the high standard of physical well-being conspicuous among them; every individual was strong, healthy looking, brimming with vitality. To me it appeared that no similar gathering of girls of any white race would have shown such a high average of physical force; it spoke eloquently for the virility of one side of the Abantu race in Natal.

Many hymns and songs were sung, conducted by a native girl, with great restraint and in perfect time; the musical gifts of the people, their keen sense of time, tune, and harmony was audible. Prayers were uttered by native men, fathers in the church, and in the liquid Zulu and cadence of expression their command of language was expressed.

After this service an adjournment was made to the new school building for the ceremony of the day. The broad verandah was filled with the visitors and principal natives, in front the school children in ranged order, and all round them, crowding near to get a full view, were natives of all ages and both sexes. Before the proceedings here began there was a notable accession to the numbers. Galloping up the winding road, and drawing rein just behind the clean white ranks of the Christian girls, came the hereditary chief of the Qadi clan, followed by his counsellors and attendants, clad for the most part in the mutya of their ancestors, and shouting the praises of their chief as their fathers had done to his fathers on both sides of the Tugela for the long-past years. Drawn up in array the chief welcomed the representative of the Government, who suitably replied, and the cavalcade then mingled with the crowd. Significant of much was the contrast. Sitting on the verandah, his back against one of the posts, chin on hands, was a finely built, elderly follower of the

chief, utterly naked except for the fur skins around his waist. Standing above and around him were men of his own race and tribe, dressed in the black frock-coat and full panoply of a European on a similar occasion, not a detail omitted. Singular it was to note the utter unconsciousness of the naked barbarian on the one hand, and the equal unconsciousness of his clothed and groomed brothers on the other, neither apparently noticing the incongruity of the contrast, so apparent, almost so grotesque to us.

Speeches, singing, and prayers followed, the school was duly opened and admired, the flag saluted, Bayete shouted in deep bass and light treble, and the gathering broke up to feast. It was a picture to be remembered,—one which was full of significance, and made one ponder much. The representatives of the white man's Government on the verandah; in front the hundreds of natives, clothed, intelligent girls of splendid physique, learning the white man's code of morality, his way of life; the chief and his followers, the embodiment of the ancestral life, carrying one back to the old days of the Qadi tribe in Zululand; behind, the long range of the Inanda with its cliff buttresses and table top,—intensely African was the scene, and intimately African the thoughts it suggested.

This was on Thursday, and on Sunday at noon the huge mail steamer, timed with the accuracy of an express train, will steam round the Bluff of Natal carrying as passenger from Europe a member of the tribe, a one-time pupil of the school. Years ago, after getting the rudiments of education, on his own initiative he worked his passage from Natal via England to America. There, in the intervals of labouring for his own support, he carried on his studies, entered the University, and won the highest honours in, at least, one competition open to the most cultured youths of the white race. Thence to England, where, having learned what one of the ancient Universities could teach, he studied law in the Inner Temple and in

Holland, and was now coming back to his own land, tribe, and people !

In the mind of the true missionary there can be no doubt about the value of this work. To him, or to her, it is the highest to which men and women can devote their lives. To bring the truths of the Christian faith to people in the darkness of heathendom, to clothe the naked, to impress their ideals of faith, morality, enlightenment upon those living in the dark places of the earth, is their highest duty and most valued privilege. To this end they have made sacrifices, left home, friends, and congenial surroundings for isolation and often unrequited or only partly recognized toil. Men and women, fired with this holy zeal, this abandonment of self and its ordinary ambitions, we have seen and known.

To many, who also know the native and who wish him well, possibly even some who took part, if not as principals, at least as witnesses, of the inspiring events of yesterday, many and grave thoughts are suggested : the way does not always seem so clear, the duty so obvious, the end striven for so absolutely good as would at first glance appear. We still have obstinate questionings.

Social upheavals, an entire change of attitude towards life, the uprooting of the race ideals and the inculcation of those of another race, are of such profound importance that the true value and significance of the results may well be doubtful, even after the experience of half a century. That they will be exactly as hoped for is hardly likely ; absolute good is never attained in this world ; a mingled web of varying colours it is at best, and well for us if the light shades predominate over the dark.

I think that some of those engaged in missionary work are fully, and perhaps sorrowfully, alive to this, and feel, after years of labour, that they must be prepared for only partial success. They have come to realize that simply to swell the numbers of those who profess Christianity and wear clothes is not sufficient, and that the whole life of the native, both as relating to those of

his own race and those of the intrusive dominant one that has come and disturbed his environment, must be taken into account. That though the teaching of Christianity is still their chief aim, the inculcation of morals in the widest sense, the teaching of habits of cleanliness, thrift, industry, the encouragement of better methods of agriculture and housing, which should all mean the building up of character, is of the first importance.

Some missionaries also recognize that the old life was not altogether bad—that many fine traits of character were present in the old heathen,—and are anxious to conserve what was good in their old life and customs; and that deep study on the sociological side, as well as devotion to their first ideal, is necessary.

Those who sit in the seats of the scorner and sarcastically talk of the moral pocket-handkerchief ideal of the missionary, do not know of the heart searchings of many who, while never relinquishing their primary object, do feel the complexity of the problem growing from more to more. The fact that the true way is not making the black man a poor imitation of the white man with an adopted creed and civilization, in the evolution of which he has had no part, is being brought home to some of those who are working in this field. They are now feeling that if the work is to have any lasting value it must not be wholly by imitation, but by adaptation, often by rejection; that much which was good for the white man, and had a great value by reason of the training necessitated in its acquirement by the race, cannot be grafted on to the black man.

Thus the closest watching is necessary. Experiments must be tried, an open mind retained, the methods changed as advance is made, if the raising of the black man is to be an evolution running parallel to the fibres of mind and character, and not an imposition on the surface, pandering to his vanity and leaving him without inner resource and restraint, the result of which will be the imitation and adoption of the vices, rather than the virtues of the white man.

I believe in speaking thus I am voicing the opinions of some of those who are engaged in mission work among the Abantu, and that the complexity of the question is fully realized by many of them, perhaps even to a greater extent than it is by thoughtful colonists. Whether all the missionaries would agree with my statement of the case or not, it is certain that some practical recognition of it has obtained among most, for their work has gone far beyond the preaching of the Gospel and such literary instruction as would enable their disciples to read the Bible. They have entered into the life of the people, have taught trades, encouraged thrift and industry, made efforts to teach better methods of agriculture, induced them to build better houses and use furniture, and among the women have given instruction in house and laundry work and taught them some simple industries. They are all anxious, if adequate support is forthcoming, to undertake this and similar work on a larger scale than anything hitherto attempted.

It will come as a surprise to many to learn that missionary effort is the only force which has yet, in any direct way, attempted the education and uplifting of the Abantu people over a large portion of South East Africa. Governments have given grants in aid to the work, only amounting in all to a niggardly percentage of the direct taxes paid by the natives ; but there are no Government schools, or a single institution in the whole country run solely by Government for the training of the natives in arts or industry.

So that the missionary stands to the native for religion, education ; for all help he may get to make his life cleaner, more moral, and more in keeping with the ideals of the white man at his best. And as it is in the position of this single altruistic force that we have to regard the missionary, we can surely hardly over-estimate his importance as a factor in our inquiry.

There are three main forces at the present time acting upon the life of the Abantu people. The first is the

power of custom and habit, principally shown in his adhesion to his old tribal life. This has been a most potent and valuable factor in the past in conserving much that was good in character and life, and especially in stemming the disruptive forces set into operation by the presence of the white man, and, against these, setting the authority and control of a social system evolved by and suited to the race in their old environment.

The second is the change brought about by the incoming of the white man and his assumption of government, the whole trend of which is to undermine the socialistic conceptions of the people and to weaken their racial controls. Gradually disintegrating these, neither the individual European, nor his Governments (with exceptions to be noted later) have seriously attempted to put anything in their place, and the general consensus of opinion is that the result, so far, has been the premature relaxation of wholesome restraints and the assumption of liberty, sometimes tending towards licence, in those as yet quite unfitted for its proper exercise.

The third force is that exercised by the missionaries. In the early days the teaching and influence of the missionaries were probably the strongest factors in the breaking down of the old order, but with the increase of European population, and especially since the opening up of the Witwatersrand and other gold-fields, their influence in this disintegrating operation is comparatively small. What is affecting the most profound change in the native is his contact with the white man at all points, and this change is proceeding with ever-accelerated speed. The fundamental differences between these changes and those wrought by the missionaries, are that, in the former there is little building up of any salutary influence to take the place of the old wholesome restraints, whilst in the latter religion and morality are inculcated and replace the checks weakened or destroyed. The former has been largely destructive; the latter, though destroying much, some of which was of value, has consciously aimed at and

attempted to give the higher sanctions. And as I have tried to point out, whilst, perhaps at first, these were limited to the teaching of Christian religion and morality, there is a growing recognition of the value of some features in the old life, and also, on the other hand, a disposition to widen the basis of reconstruction, and include among it all that is likely to tend to a higher and better life, and to attempt to make it more securely founded by giving it a physical basis in the improved material life and surroundings of the people. Also, most important of all, to endeavour so to study the people as to take advantage of, and not run counter to, their racial genius.

If this is a true statement of the position, it surely behoves all students of the problem, and all those who wish the best for the Abantu, to encourage and support those who are the only ones consciously taking in hand this essential reconstructive work. Especially should the student of sociology, and those altruists who have seriously studied the question, strengthen the hands of the more enlightened missionaries who desire to adopt the broader conception of their work I have tried to indicate, whose endeavours to advance the people are guided by a knowledge and appreciation of the good that is in them, and who recognize that the advance may be on different lines to those we are accustomed to in ourselves.

Some six years before the first wagon of the Voortrekkers descended the passes of the Drakensberg, missionaries were labouring among the Abantu of Natal. Since that time representatives of all the northern nations of Europe, of Anglo-Saxon America, and of the Trappist and other Roman Catholic orders, have been engaged in the work. A special word may be said with regard to the last named. Beginning their work in the early days of the eighties of last century at Marianhill near Pinetown in Natal, they have now over thirty stations in that colony and Griqualand East. Some of these comprise very large areas, one in the latter territory is 50,000 acres in extent. To a larger degree than most other missionary

bodies they lay stress on the gospel of labour, and a visit to the old station of Marianhill has been a revelation to many. Almost all trades are there taught in practical fashion, and a considerable number of natives have acquired a knowledge of crafts, including carpentering, smith's work, printing, masonry, leatherwork, and wagon-making. Most of these find employment at the other stations of the brotherhood, or among their own people. Work is found for native girls in a factory in which clothing is made on commercial lines, much of it being sold in Johannesburg. A conspicuous feature among the native converts at these stations is their respectful demeanour to the European brothers and sisters, and to Europeans generally.

Perhaps in no part of the area with which we are dealing, can the results of missionary effort be better exemplified than in Basutoland. There they have been at work since the early days of the nation, when Moshesh invited two of the missionaries attached to the French Protestant Mission to live with him and enlighten his people. They had an arduous and uphill struggle, for at that time the people were saturated with their old beliefs, and the teachers of the new faith were strenuously opposed by all those who gained power and position under the old system of heathenism and witchcraft. Whilst not seldom in danger from the prejudices and passions of the people themselves, their position was made still more difficult by reason of the constant wars, internecine and against Europeans. Often regarding the assaults of the latter unjustifiable, they took the side of the Basuto, and plainly spoke what they considered the truth to those of their own race, to be stigmatized by the latter as renegades to civilization and progress. In many difficult situations they displayed physical and moral courage, tact and judgment, and a devotion to the best interests of their wards, which has borne fruit in these latter days. For to-day there is an amicable understanding between the administration and the missionaries, and the work of the latter has

extended and prospered. At the present time there are some 18,000 communicants and 40,000 adherents attached to the French Protestant Mission in Basutoland. They have many churches and schools, training institutions for teachers, printing presses, and industrial establishments for teaching trades. To show the excellent understanding between the administration and those who are doing this work, I quote from the pages of Sir Godfrey Lagden's work the speech delivered by Mr. Sloley, the Resident Commissioner, at the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the French Protestant Mission in the land: "It was a unique spectacle in South Africa, a native tribe dwelling in peace and prosperity under their own chief and their own laws, a people advancing in civilization and having everywhere the advantages of religious and secular education freely offered to them. That this is so is largely due to the efforts of the Paris Evangelical Mission. There were other contributing causes. The Government of the late Queen had fostered the people. Much credit also belonged to the moderation and wisdom of the chiefs under whom they had lived for four generations, and praise was due to the natural common sense of the people. But if one influence more than another had helped the Basuto, it was the missionary influence which began seventy-five years ago. The results achieved were such as encouraged missionaries and laymen alike to do their plain duty and to trust the future of the native people."

There is another side. When one considers the vast numbers still living as did their fathers, still polygamists, still consulting the witch doctors, progress would seem to have been lamentably slow, and the response to the call but a low cry. Perhaps it was well for the race that their conservatism did so far prevail. A sudden conversion of the people contemporaneous with the influx of Europeans and the vast changes wrought thereby, might have brought to pass a position difficult for both black and white, and adjustment might only have been

possible through blood and tears. Progress, great progress, has been made; the difference between 1836 and 1910 is immense, incalculable, but it has been such as to enable an essentially conservative people to assimilate it. There have been periods of reaction; mission stations once prosperous may be shown, where, in the absence of European control, retrogression is obvious; but there are many in which progress has been cumulative, and which are object lessons to the neighbouring people. There are numerous instances of God-fearing natives who have taken on the responsibilities of a Christian and civilized life, who are respected by all who know them, black and white alike.

It was the fashion in past years, even among church-going Europeans, to decry the Christian native and to compare him, much to his disadvantage, with his heathen brother. I am afraid that the standard by which both were judged was not the benefit or otherwise to the native, not whether he himself was intrinsically improved, but whether he came up to the standard of what a black man should be in the eyes of a white man. And the relation was that of employer and employed, and to make a "good nigger" in this sense, the employed should be always deferential, willing to accept what was regarded as sufficient for a black man in regard to housing, feeding, and wages, and above all free from any airs or assumptions. In these respects the raw native was perfect, his tribal training ensured this, whilst the mission boy was, too often, self-conscious and not too well-mannered. Any other virtues or acquirements were either non-regarded or considered as unbecoming in a native, and he was judged on his little unpleasantnesses, which would have been tolerated or thought quite natural in a European. I think too little attention was paid to manners in their education; but there were numerous instances in which, to the natural politeness and respect of the raw Zulu, the Christian native added acquired virtues which were worthy of all praise. And at the time when this dictum was most in

vogue, every native wearing more than the ragtag accoutrements of the kraal native, when he came into town to work, was accounted a Christian, and the mission system charged with his faults and deficiencies even though he had never been under instruction in his life.

Another generalization which obtained popular currency was that, however a native was educated, at the first opportunity or relaxation of control, he threw off the habiliments of civilization and reverted to the mutya and blanket and all his old barbarous customs—the call of his savage nature was too strong for him. That this did happen in cases is true. All who know the Abantu are fully aware how strong is their attachment to their ancient life—their history during the last fifty years shows this ; it is the virtue of a strong race, and the temptation to reversion must be, in some cases, overwhelming. The wonder is that such instances are so few, for in comparison to those who stand fast they are few indeed.

It is quite a common thing in Natal to hear it said that the Amakolwa, or some individuals who come under this name, have gone back, are lazy, immoral, unclean. Laziness, even immorality, are matters of evidence, degree, and opinion, and such a general charge is easy to make and often difficult to disprove. During the inquiry of the Natal Native Commission, extending over nearly twelve months, I made a point, in every part of Natal and Zululand, to try and elucidate this aspect of the case. To make my inquiry definite I confined it to natives who were exempted from native law, and who, in nearly every case, were professed Christians. I also limited it to the one question of reversion to polygamy, on which a clear and definite answer could be given, and it was put to those who favoured Missions and exemption, and those who opposed both. My definite question was, Do you, of your own personal knowledge, know any exempted natives who have fallen back into polygamy? From the answers received it was made clear to me that such cases were remarkably few. It should be borne in mind that if a native

lapses into barbarism the greatest temptation thereto would be to obtain a plurality of wives.

Unfortunately too, it is the fact that when an educated and nominally Christian native turns out badly, and uses his acquirements for his sensual gratification or unlawful personal gain, a chorus of condemnation goes up, not against the individual native, but against the system which makes such a product possible. These unfortunate instances are quoted and emphasized in any general conversation about Missions far more frequently than are the many cases in which the Amakolwa live exemplary lives. The backsliding of professed Christians, the abuse of education to low and selfish ends, are not unknown among ourselves, but these instances are not deemed to utterly condemn Christianity and education. Let us be fair, and take into full consideration the far greater difficulties of the native, and especially those due to race and environment, and after due entry of debit and credit, try to strike a just balance.

I have spoken of the self-consciousness and lack of respect sometimes displayed by station natives, and compared it with the almost invariable deference shown to Europeans and superiors which is so conspicuous a characteristic of the real kraal native. This is probably the chief failing of the educated man in the eyes of the average colonist. Actuated by the frequency of this and similar charges, so often made against mission natives, the Rev. Mr. Le Roy of the American Zulu Mission in Natal compiled a list of some ninety-one natives, who had been educated and trained by them, and who had left their stations to work for themselves. The inquiry was directed to those who had actually employed the boys, and included questions concerning their general attitude and behaviour. Most of the employers replied, and the answers as far as these natives went were conclusively in their favour, not only with reference to their ability and industry, but also as regards behaviour. Many of these answers were characteristically colonial, such as "best I ever had," "a

rattling good boy," " would engage him again to-morrow," and so on. To give accurate figures. Out of forty-seven working in Durban, unqualified approval was given in the case of forty-four, and not one was charged with disrespect ; out of forty-four working in Johannesburg, thirty-eight received excellent characters from their employers, and again no complaint was made of bad behaviour or disrespect. The old uneducated and uncontaminated Zulu could not have earned a better character.

To summarize, I think it can be shown that the once generally accepted formula, which is not yet dead, stigmatizing Christian natives as useless and below the standard of the raw native, is one of those generalizations, accepted without due inquiry and thought, which have done so much in the past to obscure the true facts and issues of our question.

One of the highest services rendered to the State by the missionaries must now be mentioned, and the more so because I have not heard it claimed by them, and it is certainly not recognized by the public. Underlying the evidence given by the natives before the Natal Native Commission was a feeling, not often directly expressed, but unquestionably ever present, of a shaken confidence in the desire of Europeans in general, and the Government in particular, for their well-being. The old faith in the good intentions of the Government, and their belief that it was animated by a desire to protect and help them, was seldom expressed with any real conviction. The rock in a thirsty land no longer gave shade to them. In place was a feeling of suspicion, sometimes amounting to a fixed idea, that the white man was ever concocting deep-laid schemes for their exploitation, was planning to make money out of them. Confidence in us, not only in our justice but in our fatherliness, is essential to true success with the Abantu. In a time when doubt as to our good intentions was rife, when confidence in our goodwill was shaken, the unselfishness and altruism of the missionary stood fast, as a pledge to

the native that the white man still desired his good, still stood as a father to him, and that cash, or its value in material things, was not the only bond between black and white. A bulwark to a shattered and fast-disappearing faith were and are these men, and it is a service to the State and to their race which can hardly be too highly estimated.

Many of those who are hostile or apathetic to the work now undertaken by the missionaries, are willing to tolerate some teaching of religion, but are opposed to giving the natives education. "An educated nigger is a spoiled nigger," say such. Before I enter into the question of education, literary and industrial, and how that education should be formulated and applied to suit the peculiar needs of the position, I would like briefly to state the present position of affairs, and put a definite question to the objectors.

We have, among us, an overwhelming preponderance of these people, we are a white speck in a black mass. They live in two camps of unequal size, the vast majority as did their fathers as tribesmen, the minority, more or less educated, and following at greater or less distance, our life. We have so far broken in upon them as to notably decrease, in some cases to entirely kill, much that in the old time made up their interest in life. Before we arrived and in the early days of our occupation their lives, though easy, were not vacant, they had many interests and congenial occupations. Their share in their own government was limited, but they knew what was going on and were not ignored; from time to time they were called up to the kraal of the chief, and indirectly, their opinions had weight and formed custom and law. Under a tyrant they could not become lethargic or apathetic, the danger of some arbitrary action kept them on the alert, but their position was not irremediable, for they could and did rise, directly or by proxy, and assert their rights. The witchcraft which they dreaded, prevented them from stagnating, and folk-lore and myth gave interest to their lives. Their

strong physical natures found vent in warlike expeditions and tribal fights, the country was full of game, and hunting was a frequent exercise which worked off their hot blood. Their weapons and utensils were simple enough, but all had to be made by hand from raw materials which had to be found, and the manufacture gave scope to considerable ingenuity and some little artistic effort.

All this we have changed. The pride of the Zulu in his king is limited to a tribal head under control of the magistrate. His laws are ready-made for him by the European, and his opinion thereon is never asked, his interests have degenerated into grievances. The great and absorbing game of war is forbidden him, and even faction fights are severely (too severely) punished. The great herds of wild animals have gone, and hunting, as his fathers knew it, with its thrilling dangers, is a thing of the past ; at best he is called out as beater to a European shooting harmless buck. The weapons and utensils, to the making of which he had to devote time, patience, and skill, are now bought at the store of the Asiatic or white man. The old customs, the stories, folk-lore and myth, with knowledge of woodcraft and plant, all of which stimulated the mental powers and imagination, are rapidly being forgotten.

As I cannot too often reiterate, they are, though outwardly little changed, undergoing inward changes, and the whole process amounts to bewilderment. The young people are getting out of hand ; the simple interest their fathers had in their natural surroundings and social life is dwindling, and they look for excitement in more frequent visits to town and in beer drinking. This casting down of restraint and sanctions, coupled with the comparative monotony of their lives, is leading rapidly, in the opinion of nearly all observers, to deterioration of character. Neither the colonists in their private capacity, nor the Government as representing them, are replacing the old activities with any adequate substitute, and for the old recognized and accepted control familiar to them, is put the policeman. Laws without end are made to

prevent their injuring the white man, but few which aim at their own benefit.

Briefly summarized this is the position to-day.

I ask the objectors this question: If they are left to work out their own salvation in these altered and unfamiliar surroundings what will be the result? Did we retire from the scene there is little doubt but that through some turmoil and bloodshed they would readjust themselves, and the majority congratulate themselves they were rid of the white man. But we remain, and in our presence and under our government can they satisfactorily heal the wounds, and rebalance the parts of the organism, at present injured and out of gear, so that it shall work in the future with a minimum of friction and a maximum of good? I doubt it—the change is too rapid and violent; they are learning what is extraneous and often vicious, the characteristics and habits of which the white man is himself ashamed; the deeper life, the inward sanctions are not seen. The obvious gratifications and the vices they copy, the self-restraints and the virtues are hidden from them. If I am right in my statement of the present position, and I feel I have the general support of those who know, I must ask the opponents of missionary work and education what they have to suggest? Surely to leave these people, the old discipline and salutary activities removed, learning the vices of a stronger race in a bewildering and ever-changing environment, to welter through it all untaught and without guidance, is to prepare to reap the whirlwind, and is utterly unworthy of us and of the race to which we belong. What sane man, recognizing the position as I have tried to draw it, would remain to live his home life in a country with such an outlook as this before him? If the Abantu were people of a race akin to our own in such condition, the remedy for hopelessness would be to create and stimulate an intelligent interest in life by giving them an object, such as better material conditions, for which to work,—for ignorance, education; for immorality, religious and moral in-

struction. If this is the best we could offer to those of our own race, is it not our duty as the responsible governors to give our best to those who, largely through our advent, are in this condition? I have made it abundantly clear, that exactly what would suit the white man may not apply to the black man; that insight and discrimination are needful, and our remedies must peradventure be modified, even profoundly modified, to meet his racial peculiarities and needs. In our ignorance we may make mistakes; but again I ask, is it not due to us to give our best to balance the worst these people are at present receiving at our hands? If so, what is the best those who denounce the missionary and his works would give?

I have put the question many times, often without answer, and at best have been told that our policy should be to keep him in his place. Yes, but his place is a shifting one; we ourselves are altering the plane; what was his place yesterday may not know him to-morrow. This means, in other words, repression with an appeal to the rifle. If this is the only policy, the white man will solve the problem himself by leaving South Africa. The strain will gradually become too tense for all but the strongest, and South Africa will never become a home for our race. To my mind this is impossible. We have no choice; we must do all in our power to adjust, if not to solve the problem, and for the present, with the greatest circumspection, give the black man what is the best we can give, religious instruction and education in its best and broadest sense. The generally accepted dictum that the natives are children and must be treated as such, should be accepted with reservations. In their ignorance of the conditions in which they now find themselves, and their utter inability to discern whither they are tending, they are children. What would be thought of the parents, guardians, authorities, who seeing their wards with the fullest opportunities for mental and moral deterioration, the operation in full blast, denied them access to influences and instruction calculated to counteract these

pernicious tendencies? Yet that is the position taken up by the objector.

The South African Native Commission did not include a single member who could be looked upon as representative of missionary work ; the majority would never have been considered as unduly sympathetic thereto ; yet read their deliberate and unanimous conclusion :—

Clause 289. "It does not seem practicable to propose any measure of material support or aid to the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise, but the Commission recommends full recognition of the utility of the work of the Churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelizing the heathen, and have adopted the following resolution—

"(a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the natives is to be found in Christianity.

"(b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all native schools."

Whatever religious opinions we may personally hold, it must surely be conceded that in a new scheme of life for this people the emotional side of their nature must not be ignored. A cold system of morality may be a sufficient guide and safeguard for a few of unusual temperament among ourselves, but even we, for the greater part, require a plan of religion and morality with a warmer and more personal application. The negroes of the Southern States found some alleviation of their stifled and monotonous life in camp meeting and personal conversion. We are now trying to discover by what means the moral standard of these people may be prevented from dissolving altogether, and how what is preserved may be built into a new and better structure.

I entirely agree with the finding of the South African Commission, that there is nothing conceivable by us so likely to ensure this result as the teaching of religion with its moral obligations. If we realize how the old

hopes and interests are failing them, we should try to buttress what is good, and show a light to which they can move so that the race does not fall into sheer, dark despair. Without object or guidance their emotions would be driven to find vent in the sensualism to which they are ever too prone. Here we have the stimulus that will lift them above their animal instincts, and give them hope and a wider outlook. Because, forsooth, every convert is not a Joseph and Saint Paul in one, the critics of the missions denounce them root and branch.

Some of those who are watching the signs of the times in Africa, predict that, before long, the religion of Islam moving gradually from North to South will find a seed-bed ready among the Abantu of the South ; and think that in this will be supplied the cohesive element which will bind together all tribes and groups of the people. They point out that there is much in the religion of Mahomet that will appeal to and satisfy the race characteristics and desires of the Abantu. Much more unlikely things have happened. The Mahometans now resident in South East Africa are aliens from Asia, and the only connexion between them and the natives has been one of trade—no attempt, so far as I know, has been made to proselytize. But Africa is opening fast, and in centres like Johannesburg, and ports such as Durban, are men representing many races and tribes, many cultures and religions, and in the break-up of the old, gaps are left for the entrance of the new ; it is hard indeed to say how far such a contingency is possible.

Let us have some constructive criticism, from those who would deny these possibilities and ameliorations to the native ; let them tell us what provision they propose for this side of his nature. The onus of finding a new way of life, and an alternative, is upon those who would refuse education and religious instruction to the Abantu.

The only way to make him a useful member of society (our society) is to increase his wants, is the ordinary philosophy of the European critic. A platitude, often in

the mouths of those who would oppose any attempt to give the native the acquirements necessary to supply his increased wants. From year to year, the requirements of the native have become more and more, and so far, he has either been able to satisfy these desires or had philosophy enough to "know the want". If his wants are to increase and his usefulness to the combined society (particularly the white side) in South East Africa to be thus enhanced, surely it is only fair and reasonable that his ability to earn should also be greater. This can only be done by his receiving a higher wage as labourer, by his becoming a producer on his own account on a larger scale, or by widening the sphere of his work and allowing him to enter some of the more highly paid forms of labour. I can imagine the very general objection to the first named, and I know the opposition there will be to the latter course. But if his wants are to be increased, if he is to become a more useful member of society in the economic sense, it is surely not fair to fix him on the horns of a dilemma and leave him there.

Those of my readers who have followed the argument thus far will recognize that I do not advocate the education of the Abantu solely to increase his value to the State as producer or wage-earner. In all modern States this is of importance, but, primarily, I do so because I feel that something must be given to supersede the old activities and interests, and hope and trust in the future must enter into the lives of the people. I want to prevent deterioration of character, more, to build up character, not necessarily on our lines, but on what may prove to be the best method of conserving what is best in their race character, and working up from that. Any scheme propounded would first of all have to be considered, tested, and finally judged on its value in this regard. The questions of racial equality with miscegenation will be considered at a later stage, but meantime I have tried to make it clear that I believe both races, white and black alike, have a value as races to humanity and the world, and that it is desirable

in all our actions to keep this in mind, and in education, as in all our other policies, to prevent overlapping of the races with its possible friction and animosities, as far as possible. Therefore it is desirable to aim, not at the higher education of the few, not to produce learned prodigies, but to raise the race as a race, to elevate the mass uniformly as far as may be.

Whilst this should be our general aim, we must make provision for the higher education of some few who have special work to do among their own people. The education we give to the many, if simple should be thorough. It is a truism in education, that the teacher must in actual knowledge be far in advance of his pupil and must have had a special training in teaching methods. This can only be given in an institute devoted to this work. For those who are specially gifted training should be possible as doctors, nurses, and teachers of practical subjects such as agriculture, stock raising, and handicrafts, with the object of finally settling them among the native population. And I think the sons of chiefs should be specially instructed in their duties. I would not give the higher education or advanced technical training to any unless they were going to undertake work among and to help upward their own people. To give a native youth the higher education imparted say at our secondary schools, to compete in the colonial world with European youths in clerical and literary callings, to give him tastes he cannot satisfy, ambitions that must cause intense pain before they die, is cruelty indeed. It is the more incumbent upon us to give an opportunity for educating those who are, in turn, to educate their own people, as hundreds have left, and more are leaving annually, for the United States of America, where they can obtain what is denied in their own country. All who know the natives feel this emigration is fraught with danger; the only alternative is to make his own country more attractive to him, to give him here the opportunities he can get elsewhere.

And another proposition—any attempt to force what

we consider improvements upon him, either in character or modes of life, must be avoided. A more difficult creature to force along unfamiliar paths than the native, it would be impossible to find. Open opposition would not be apparent, but apathy and indifference would be manifest. Sometimes, more aggravating still, eye and lip service would be given, while behind the back of the would-be benefactor every wile would be adopted to prevent realization. We must sometimes wait until the shoe pinches. Once the native really wants a thing, the effort he will make and the self-denial to which he will submit in order to obtain it are astonishing, equally so the dead weight with which he can oppose. At the present time, there is a widespread and keen desire for the ordinary school education, to be able to read and write is a very common ambition, and many are willing to make great efforts, and exercise considerable self-denial, in order to obtain this measure of advancement. But we must not make it too cheap and force it on the unwilling for their good. Object lessons of the benefits derived from attainment will achieve far more than compulsion. And it should not be gratuitous,—to pay for benefits received will tend to make them appreciate them, be a factor in character building and incite to effort.

The Natal Native Commission strongly urged that greater facilities be given for primary education, and that a beginning should be made in teaching agriculture, and some instruction given in handicrafts; but such teaching should not go beyond the present needs of the natives. They did not go into details, and in regard to literary education I feel some hesitation in making suggestions. With diffidence I say it, but if the first object of the education we propose to give is to prepare them in some measure for the inevitable changes in their environment, and to replace the lost interest and hope in life, some modification of the existing system is needed. Far too much is it simply a replica of what is taught in European schools, and it is in many ways quite unsuited to their real require-

ments and what we should aim at. Reading and writing must be its foundation, but after that, what will really interest the pupils, be of service in their lives, and help to form a stable and good character, is the ideal.

A man who has lived all his life in close touch with the natives once gave to me his opinion, that in any policy we adopt no step should be taken that could not be withdrawn or modified, if necessary. His experience had shown him that to be constantly changing our methods, to appear vacillating, was bad, indeed fatal, but he also felt that we knew so little and our work was so much in the nature of experiment, that it was wisdom not to commit ourselves once and for all to any plan of campaign, but, if an experiment did not realize our expectations, be free to change it without shattering the structure. Slavishly following a curriculum more or less suited to Europeans, will not give us the results we desire, scientific methods must be adopted to discover the best means to our end. Advantage should be taken of their natural gifts, and certain educative forces, now present in their lives, should be utilized and built upon. The gift of language, the love of music, a certain deftness which enables them to make beautiful basket and grasswork—all these should be brought into operation. Regular and accurate observation should be made by those engaged in the work, and the fullest records kept, and this should also apply to the life, conduct, and career of the pupils after they have left the teacher and gone out into the world. We have had too much of blind copying of older-established methods; we want a new departure based on accurate observation, and scientific methods applied to this important work.

The native is, surely, the worst cultivator of the soil in the world—if there is a worse I do not know him; but with this goes a deep-seated attachment to the land. Those who have the training of the young natives should take advantage of this attachment to instruct them in better methods of agriculture, the improvement of stock,

the cultivation of new crops, especially such as may be exported. During the last two or three years a certain quantity of maize (mealies) grown by natives has doubtless been bought up by storekeepers and dealers, and shipped to Europe ; but, prior to that time, I think I may say that the million natives of Natal and Zululand, the whole of whom were living on and tilling the land in some fashion, did not produce a single exportable article except the hides of their cattle. More was certainly done by the Basuto and the Transkeian natives, but everywhere is room for improvement, though Natal, and, say Swaziland, are probably the most backward in this respect. I feel so strongly on this question of the improvement of agriculture and agricultural education, that what I here say will doubtless be reiterated in the discussion both of the land and labour questions, and in the other chapters of this book. It touches the native and his future so closely that I risk recapitulation lest I should not sufficiently emphasize its importance.

(a) On the land the native lives in his ancestors, he wants no other life ; and though there may not be room for all, and many must seek labour and subsistence elsewhere, the roots and home-springs of the people should be in the land, possession should be made easy and encouraged, divorce and desertion difficult ; the future of the race, all it has of value, largely depends on this connexion being conserved.

(b) At present the land cannot carry more because it is not utilized to its full capacity ; properly cultivated, one acre could grow what three do now, and a proportionately larger population live on the same ground.

(c) We cannot make a mistake here. In dealing with a race so dissimilar doubts may well arise as to whether our methods of government, administration, education, are on lines really suited to the temperament of the people ; here there cannot, surely, be room for doubt.

(d) If there is something which is likely to give wholesome and salutary hope to this people, it is the perennial

interest of improving the land and its products, and hope and interest is what is now lacking.

It is very little use trying to move the adult native. This conservatism is ingrained and part of the fibre of his nature. All that can be expected of them is not to put obstacles in the way of the improvement of the young people. Agriculture is universally practised, and though the practice is most primitive, the calling is eminently suited to the genius of the race. And at present agricultural education is less likely to cause opposition, and friction between black and white, or overlapping of their spheres of activity, than either of the other great branches of instruction, the literary or the industrial.

I would take advantage of the present mission organizations to form small schools of agriculture. Most of the missionary bodies would be willing and glad to give the benefit of their institutions if competent and responsible instructors were appointed, and adequate grants given by Government. It should not be difficult to arrange a working plan by which advantage could be taken of missionary effort and at the same time a sound grounding in agriculture be imparted. Inspectors, of course, would be appointed who should be satisfied that the work was on right lines before the grant was given. In time, special Government institutions might be opened, but I must confess I foresee a difficulty. I believe with the South African Commission that "regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all native schools". A secular establishment devoting all the school time to instruction in agriculture or cognate subjects would fail in this most important particular. The question from this point of view would require close attention, before such institutions were started. Meantime, for this reason and for others, a beginning might be made in co-operation with those who could undertake the secular instruction, and include the teaching recommended by the South African Commission.

To those who predict nothing but failure I would

give an instance of the spirit ruling some Governments in the past, and ask whether it was possible that any advance could be made when the rulers displayed such an utter lack of interest in the betterment of their wards, such an inadequate realization of their responsibilities to them. And it must be remembered that to the native, who looks to the authorities for a guide to conduct, and under normal conditions always desires to please, such indifference amounts to condemnation. The Rev. John Dube, a native of the Inanda district in Natal, started a school intended to teach handicrafts and agriculture. The monetary support necessary he sought in America, where he had been educated, and he succeeded in raising a sufficient amount after a special visit to that country. In face of many difficulties, he kept the school going, and at the same time edited, printed, and issued a native paper. The Government of the day entirely ignored him and his work, and, though repeated representations were made by Europeans who know Mr. Dube and his enterprise and aspirations, would not give a grant in aid or in any way recognize what he was doing. Surely, if only for the sake of policy, to acquaint the administration with what was moving in the minds of the people, they should have taken an interest in the movement. But only when Sir Matthew Nathan came to Natal, as Governor and Supreme Chief of the natives, did Mr. Dube obtain any recognition. Sir Matthew opened a new school, built by funds subscribed in America, and thus showed the people that those placed over them did take an interest in their efforts and welfare. This incident sufficiently indicates the old spirit. Was any advance possible under it? Who can say what may not be possible if the rulers are inspired by the new?

Resident supervisors, speaking the language and of unimpeachable character, should be appointed in the locations, and one of their principal duties should be to teach and encourage better methods of agriculture. I do not advocate expensive farm schools or colleges. Any

necessary buildings could be erected with local materials, and for a time but few buildings of any kind would be required,—example and tactful encouragement would be the wisest methods in the initial stages; the home and surroundings of the supervisor should be an object lesson. Small agricultural shows might be held, and reward and recognition given to those who were making an effort, prizes given for the best crops and stock. New crops should be gradually introduced, especially such as commanded a ready sale for cash and could be exported. Such crops as cotton are in my mind. Hitherto, with the exception of his mealies, the native has not grown any crops that commanded a ready sale at remunerative prices, and until lately, when export fixed a standard price, the value of mealies fluctuated greatly, and the native always succeeded in getting the lowest price. If he found that cotton could always be sold at fairly steady prices, in the small quantities he grew, it would, I think, appeal to him. Another distinct advantage from such a crop is that it gives employment to the women and children at the kraals, light work suitable to the younger and weaker inmates. Now that East Coast fever has swept off the cattle, fewer boys are required as herds, and it would be well if the girls had employment of a kind which would, in greater measure, reward the more industrious. Carrying firewood and water are excellent as exercise, but it is not exhilarating nor remunerative. A larger quantity of cotton to sell would mean the possibility of acquiring many desired or desirable things. With many of the men away from home at labour centres, the women and girls are left more or less idle, certainly without much incentive to useful employment. They, equally with the men, require the element of hope and emulation in what they do, and the cultivation of crops that would mean more than food, mean the gratification of many legitimate desires, would be of great benefit in their somewhat aimless lives.

And, it must be remembered that better utilization of

the land means more room for the people, and this is fast becoming an imperative necessity.

I know it will be said, and by many who have lived amongst the Abantu, that it is impossible to induce the native to depart from his ancestral usage and grow new and better crops. I would ask what encouragement, at all events in Natal, and many other parts, he has ever had to do so. Has any well-thought-out scheme been evolved, or if evolved any really steady and persistent effort been made to make it a success? The answer must be, none, and I cannot imagine that the tactful, judicious, and persevering efforts of the right men living among the people will be for all time of non-effect. There will be disappointments many, experiments will often fail, but well-considered and consistent effort is not going to be without its reward.

The greater the result of missionary teaching, of literary and agricultural education, the greater will be the need for industrial training,—some instruction in handicrafts that will satisfy the requirements for better homes, for furniture, for carts and wagons, for implements. We must have, among the people, men who are carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, wagon-builders and saddlers, who are competent to supply the wants of the natives as they advance in agriculture and require better homes and surroundings. Here, we run up against opposition, many Europeans are prejudiced against any such training for natives, they fear competition of low-priced labour against which they or their children will stand no chance. The objectors to any industrial training for natives are largely the white artisans. The objections take the direct form of open denial, or the indirect of demanding a minimum standard wage for all skilled work, the belief being that such a wage would ensure the employment of the more highly trained and skilled European in all cases, and the practical boycotting of the black artisan. One can quite understand this point of view, and I am writing not on the native question alone, but trying to study the

relations of black and white in this country, and this aspect of the question must be faced and considered.

Many of those who oppose industrial training would admit that the native ought to be helped and encouraged to become a better agriculturist, and are not altogether averse to some literary education being afforded; and I would ask these—would you, then, be willing to give the black man opportunities of economic betterment, raising desires for the comforts and amenities of a more civilized existence, but at the point at which such advancement seems to threaten your personal interests, deny him further opportunities, and opportunities for the fulfilment of desires which follow naturally upon what you would give? For industrial work among the natives themselves, for the building of their houses, the repairing of implements, it is obviously impossible for them to pay for skilled white labour. The position would be an impossible one.

The spectre which affrights the white man is a vision of the black man invading the towns as artisan, competing with him, working for lower wages at his side, bringing down the standard of living to his level. I do not say such a contingency is impossible if we continue along our present lines, though in any case it is some distance removed, and is hardly likely to be realized to the full extent sometimes depicted. I propose later to outline a policy which will, I trust, attenuate this danger to disappearance. But meanwhile, and leaving that to its proper place, we may consider the question as it stands, and on its own merits, apart from any policy I may later formulate.

The supply of black artisans is not likely to be more than sufficient to meet the requirements of their own people for many long years to come. The standard of workmanship demanded among Europeans for all skilled work, becomes higher and higher, and the attainments of any country-trained black artisan will probably never rise to that standard. The demand of the black man for

better material conditions, contingent on his deserving and earning them, and the possible problems likely to arise out of that demand, are surely not going to make us forget all our obligations and responsibilities to him, and for all time deny him the opportunities we claim for ourselves and conceive to be our birthright? And have we so lost the self-reliance of the race that with the advantages of race, heredity, better environment, better training, we are going to protect ourselves by refusing to give just treatment to others? Again I would ask the objectors, what would you? Probably the answer would be: Leave them to themselves and let them evolve themselves, but do not help, implying a continuation of the present state of affairs. Bring disintegration and chaos into the life of a people, utterly bewilder them with your involved methods of life, teach them the worst that is in us, and then demand perfect conduct and accord with our ideas from a people kept down on a permanently lower plane? Destroy their social system and then refuse them any of the benefits of ours? To the general question of the economic position of our race to the Abantu I will come later, but meantime, will so far anticipate as to say that infinitely worse will happen to our race by such protection than by manfully undertaking our full responsibilities. Beset with difficulties is our path; the very highest that is in us will be demanded and we may emerge, but no emergence is possible for any race that demanded, in perpetuity, the ease and leisure given by the withdrawing of all reasonable opportunities to a subject race. Thus to the root and branch objectors.

I have admitted that although the dangers foreseen and feared are exaggerated, they may, in part and in years to come, be realized; the trained black man may make life more difficult for the white worker in trades and handicrafts. I have argued that even so, it is unworthy our race to deny reasonable opportunity to rise, to those who may possibly, in the future, be competitors. All these arguments and the questions I have put may seem academic

and little to the real purpose to the man who feels that his livelihood or that of his children may be jeopardized, and his simple and not ineffective reply is, self-preservation is the first law of nature. Higher laws demand our fidelity, but it is a heavy claim to make on the altruism of the man, who, rightly or wrongly, is persuaded that his children will suffer if he obeys their behests. It would be with more tenderness that I pressed my point and advocated the claims of the black man to industrial advancement, did I not feel that this practical objection of the man who thinks he will suffer can be met. The reason advanced by this objector is one of many, some of which I regard as of even greater weight and deeper import, which makes me suggest and press home the policy to be outlined later. And I hope it will not only go far to prevent the economic disaster dreaded by the opponent of industrial training, but prevent or minimize deeper-seated disaster, which I foresee and deal with in a later stage of the argument.

Men who are familiar with what has been done in the Transkeian territories to raise the people in the arts of life along the general lines advocated in this chapter, may object that my note should have been pitched in a higher key, that much more than I have indicated as necessary for the mass of the Abantu has been done there, and the results have been amply justified. Outside the territories, there are comparatively few Europeans who are fully acquainted with the position there, and to strengthen the argument for the adoption of a more liberal educational policy elsewhere I here make a brief recital, promising that I will deal at greater length with the general position there in a subsequent chapter.

The greater portion of the country between the Kei and Umzimkulu rivers is native territory, partly still held under the old communal tenure, partly converted into individual titles to the land. Under the guidance of the magistrates the natives have the government of the territories largely in their own hands. There are district councils to deal with local affairs of which the magistrate is chairman, and

a general council, which meets once a year presided over by the chief magistrate ; both educated and raw natives sit as members of these councils. They levy taxes on themselves for all local purposes—roads, bridges, pounds, and especially for general industrial and agricultural education and improvement. Experimental farms are established, agricultural shows are held, improved stock is bought and imported, tree planting is encouraged. To an extent unknown elsewhere, education is general and advancing, and there are institutions for training teachers and for industrial work,—all these with the support, and under the control, of the General Council. Every encouragement is given to the natives to take a real interest in and be responsible for their own affairs, the white official guiding and advising. The annual report of the proceedings of the General Council, with its estimates of revenue and expenditure, proceedings in which the natives took the greater part, would come as a revelation to Europeans who only knew the native administration and the Abantu elsewhere in South East Africa. It was estimated that during 1910-11 nearly £80,000 would be expended in the Transkei on various works of public utility. Of this sum nearly £20,000 was to be spent on education, £16,000 devoted to agriculture and industries, £34,000 in public works, including £5000 for dipping tanks for sheep and cattle. Included in the vote for agriculture was £3600 for forest conservation and tree planting. All valuable in themselves, and of a much greater value if we keep ever before us the position of these people. The old activities passing or disallowed, we want to give them hope and interest in their lives, something to live for ; the alteration, too often deterioration, in their character, due to their changed environment, we must provide for by character-building. We have nothing better to offer and yet leave scope for their own race development than what I suggest, which follows the general trend of the policy inaugurated and carried on in the Transkei by successive Governments of the Cape Colony. My object here is to try

to bring home to those living among an immense native population, as in Natal, where so little has been done, the absolute necessity of a beginning being made.

I do not want to deceive myself. The prophet, in a matter of such complexity as this sociological question, will often find he has overlooked some phase of the problem, which will give rise to effects and complications never anticipated. The wisest system of education, administered never so judiciously, will not solve the problem of black and white. The races will still touch, probably at different points and on another plane, fresh sub-problems will arise, will get acute, which must be met by research and thinking on different lines. What is advocated is a working theory for to-day : we watch, willing to modify in the light of the experience of to-morrow.

CHAPTER V.

LAND—THE NEED OF THE BLACK MAN.

“THE native question is the land question.” So said an observant and thoughtful colonist with a wide experience. Looking back for thirty-five years, it is easy to see how conditions have altered in respect of the land, and how intimately and vitally the native has been affected thereby. In the early days of South East Africa—and I speak more particularly of Natal proper, there was abundance of land and wide scope for black and white alike.

In those days it was the common phrase among colonists in speaking of the natives to say that no people on earth were so well off or so happy. Cattle in abundance, hill and dale on which to graze, the choice of the land for their gardens, wants that a few days' labour would supply. The attention of the newcomer was directed to the files of comely girls and stalwart young men going to dance or festival, singing as they went ; to the abundance of food and beer ; to the wealth in stock and the ample leisure the Abantu had in which to enjoy it all. These early years of the white man's Government were idyllic days for the black man ; his old life was not interfered with, most of his old interests remained, his pleasurable activities were not curtailed, he dwelt in security, and had, what is essential to ensure these happy results, the full use of broad lands for pasture and cultivation. It is significant that this form of address, this statement of fact, is seldom heard in these later days ; the least observant of Europeans feels that a change has come over the life of the Abantu since that time. Now one hears more of their laziness, their disregard of contracts and

obligations, the best methods of inducing or compelling them to furnish reliable and continuous labour ; but little of their happiness, little of the content which, in the past days, was generally admitted filled their lives.

When the Dutch farmers came over the Drakensberg, and when the conflicts with Dingaan and the Zulus were past and they could live in security, they spread over the uplands and midlands of Natal, each taking up a farm of six to eight thousand acres, often isolated, with great spaces of open country between neighbours. The natives were comparatively few, they had not increased as now, there was room for all. Many came under the protection of the farmers, got permission to build their kraals on the unenclosed farms, and gave intermittent and not too arduous labour in return for the privilege. The association was of a patriarchal nature ; the white man only cultivated for his personal wants ; his cattle, sheep, and horses lived on the natural and abundant pastures and only required herding. The native was allowed to pick his gardens where he listed, and run his stock either with those of his master or on the wide spaces of the unenclosed veldt. No rent was paid or wages given, and to both the arrangement was mutually satisfactory, and was in entire harmony with their conception of life.

Then came the Briton, and under the security of the Pax Britannica came many native immigrants from Zululand and elsewhere beyond the borders, and those already in the land increased vastly. Still there was room and food in abundance for all. The early Briton lived as did his Boer neighbour ; the free life with few wants and ambitions appealed to the pioneer class, and his relations to his native tenants and neighbours remained much the same, and satisfied both. If, for any reason, black or white were dissatisfied and relations became strained, it was always open to the former to quit the farm and live in one of the locations reserved for the natives, or go into unoccupied Crown lands of which there were huge areas in a state of Nature, and

there he could squat, a paternal Government charging no rent.

The position was idyllic, and had it so remained there would have been no native problem as we know it to-day. But the white man as well as the native increased in the land. New comers arrived from over-sea inspired with new ideas foreign to those held by the old settlers. The easy-going methods of the latter were arraigned and condemned. The apostles of progress demanded that fuller use be made of the fertile land, that ground simply used for grazing should be broken up and cultivated, and varied crops grown for market. They scouted the uneconomic but pleasant practice of trekking from summer to winter veldt, and advocated that men should remain all the year round on their farms, growing winter food for their stock, and utilizing the whole according to modern ideas in vogue elsewhere. Land-hunger swept over the country, and Government was pressed to throw open the Crown lands to survey and allotment for whites, and charge a rent to the natives remaining on the unappropriated balance, the demand being that, finally, all should pass into the private possession of the white man, and the native lands confined to those already allotted as locations. The men who lived in the old way were denounced as being backward and unprogressive, and comparisons were constantly made to their disadvantage, with those who held the land in more progressive countries. As might be expected, the new ideas prevailed, fences enclosed the wide open country, grazing areas came under the plough, many new crops demanding much labour, such as wattles, were planted, improved stock was imported, and the Crown lands given out as private farms, all profoundly altering the position of the native on the land.

Instead of having the run of the farm for his cattle and goats he was fenced into the least valuable portion; his garden ground was limited and allotted to him; in place of the old patriarchal relations in which no cash passed, a heifer or a few goats being recognition of his services, he

was charged rent, and a money payment given for his labour. Failing fulfilment of his contract the law interposed and he was evicted. The change came gradually, he generally had some time in which to adjust himself to the new conditions, and not seldom the white man, understanding the native, and recognizing the hardship involved, endeavoured to make the change as easy as possible, but it was inexorable, pressing his life into another shape as would a vice. And as the years went by the progress was accelerated. The new ideas caught on and the white man, stirred by the racial instinct for development and economic progress, and fanned by emulation, made it the guiding principle of his life, and the native, at a loss to comprehend, was rushed along, vainly attempting to adjust himself as the resistless whirl carried him along with it.

And this, then, is the position to-day, but we will now have to describe it in some detail. It will be as well to say that the position as outlined in Natal applies, with minor differences, to East Griqualand, the settled portions of Zululand, and the Eastern Transvaal. It will not be necessary to indicate these distinctions, the position as it is in Natal is sufficiently illustrative of the principles and powers at work, as far as the ethnic side of the question is concerned.

In Natal there are set aside for the sole use of the natives 42 areas totalling in all 2,192,568 acres of land, which form the native locations, and which are vested in and under the management of the Natal Native Trust, which consists of the Ministry of the day. The greater portion of this considerable area is situated not far from the coast, and largely consists of the river valleys, picturesque and broken, but not containing a large proportion of fertile land. In these lower locations woolled sheep and horses do not thrive, but cattle and native goats do fairly well. Some of the up country locations are of greater average value, and are excellent for all kinds of stock, with good areas of arable land of medium quality.

Living on the locations are, approximately, 230,000 natives out of a total native population of 770,000 for Natal proper, who occupy 18,122 kraals as against 47,869 on private lands, 3078 on Mission reserves, and 1018 on unallotted Crown lands. The natives occupying the locations are not called upon to pay any rent, but must, in common with natives living elsewhere, pay an annual hut tax of 14s., which is, of course, paid by the married men, and in the case of the unmarried a poll tax of one pound is imposed. These location natives, though free from a rent charge, are liable to be called out at any time by Government to work on the roads of the Colony. Although paid for this work at the rate of one pound per month and food (mealie meal), this forced labour is utterly distasteful to them, and there is little doubt but that many natives prefer to live on private farms paying high rents rather than go into the locations, simply because by residing on the former they are free from this liability to render compulsory service.

Going through a location, one will see but little change in the mode of living of the inhabitants or the aspect of the country from year to year. Looking back and making comparisons between to-day and, say thirty years ago, one finds in the aggregate a very considerable change in many minor matters, and one which is momentous. Clothing is more generally worn, especially among the men, the plough has superseded the hoe and pick except for weeding, there are more square houses in many localities than was the case in the earlier days. These are signs, but the momentous change is the increase of population, and the fact that the natural grass lands and bush are being more and more eaten into for cultivation, and there are many more patches than of old lying weed-covered and for the time worn out. The natives themselves regard the locations as full to overflowing, and constantly ask the authorities what is to become of them and where they are to go.

Remember, the tribal native regards himself as the

Government's man, the authorities have the right to demand his service in war, and fealty and support at all times, but in return it is the duty of Government to find him a place on which to live and sufficient to the requirements of himself and dependants. He does not want possession in the sense of freehold title; the tribal native does not understand a man having absolute possession for all time, against all comers. The land belongs to the tribe and a man of the tribe is entitled to his place in which he shall be undisturbed, so long as he requires it and fulfils his tribal duties. If the community becomes straitened, then it behoves those in authority to devise means whereby the necessary land shall become available, to frame a policy which probably means war on a neighbouring people which shall give the tribe what it requires. And now he says our place is crowded and Government is not carrying out its obligation of finding land for its people.

From the native point of view, the locations are overcrowded, for, taking into account their great natural ability, the Abantu are probably the worst agriculturists and most wasteful occupiers of land in the world. Looking down from the high tablelands ending in precipitous krantzies bounding the broken river valleys which so often form the locations, of which the upper portion of the Umkomanzi is a good example, one can see the native homes and cultivation spread as a map before one. In some cases, the cultivated patches cover the whole hill side, each garden separated from the next by a narrow band of green grass. They are of all shapes and sizes, the straight line being conspicuous by its absence, and irregularity is the rule. Examined more closely, they are seen to be just scratched with the plough, unmanured, weeded in slovenly fashion, and yielding scanty and irregular crops. On similar land the European farmer who has adopted modern methods of cultivation and manuring, will often reap crops two, three, or even four times as heavy as those of the native. By the wasteful ancestral methods

the land is soon worked out, and instead of reverting to the useful grassy pasture it was before cultivation began, it becomes a waste of weeds, forming a centre for the dissemination of their seeds over the country side. What should, with better methods, support a much larger population is insufficient for those who at present occupy it.

In addition to the locations, there are seventeen blocks of land comprising 127,211 acres of land originally granted to missionary bodies in order that they might have around their stations a population of natives upon whom to exercise their teaching. By agreement with the missionary societies, these areas have now also been vested in the Natal Native Trust. As a rent for occupation of these areas the natives resident thereon pay a sum of 30s. per hut or house, which amount is divided between the Government and missionary organization to whom the area was originally granted. Both Government and Missionaries are under an obligation to spend the whole money received in undertakings for the betterment of the natives. A large portion of the natives dwelling on the Mission reserves are Christians, or at all events have adopted more or less civilized modes of life, but heathen living in the ancestral way are common. On a few reserves, individual title in freehold has been granted to some natives, but the great majority (as is universally the case in locations) have the use of such lands as they require on the communal system.

All the best and most accessible Crown lands of the colony have been acquired by Europeans, and the large native population they once carried has been moved elsewhere or become tenants to the owners. The unfertile and isolated tracts still remaining only carry now about 1000 kraals. The occupiers of these kraals pay to Government a rental of £2 per hut per annum. Although natives have not been specifically barred from purchasing Crown lands, during the whole process of alienation they only acquired a little over 200,000

acres, and at the later sales, although their bids were received, Government did not implement the sales. These few native purchasers have found a difficulty, in cases in which the land was allotted to them, in complying with the conditions as to improvement, although these conditions were not onerous, and in the case of Europeans non-compliance was often overlooked or waived.

In Natal there is no law preventing the acquirement of land by natives by private purchase, and they own some 70,000 acres in freehold and over 30,000 acres in quit rent title. Much of this land is held by communities of natives, and the devolution and sale of undivided portions and other complicated questions arising from this method of ownership, are likely to cause much confusion in the future.

Nothing, I think, shows the radical difference between the conceptions of the black and the white man more than their respective views on this question of land. The former is perfectly satisfied that the land (this is the last analysis of the matter) shall belong to the community, and he shall have the right of user at the pleasure of the representative of the community, the chief. The white man must have his land for himself and his children for all generations; he has been offered leases of ninety-nine years; for longer periods, even for all time, but only the freehold, the right to have and to hold against all comers for eternity if necessary will satisfy him. So, as he rules, gradually the spacious areas held by the Crown have been alienated as private holdings, until now, with the exception of the locations and Mission reserves already mentioned, the whole of Natal is held by Europeans, and with them as landlords the native must make his contract, if he wishes to live elsewhere than in a location.

Not all the farms in Natal are occupied and cultivated by white men; many are owned by Europeans non-resident in South Africa, or by owners who do not occupy either by themselves or a nominee, and these farms are nearly always filled with natives paying rents to the land-

owner. As no personal service is required from the tenants on these farms, and as they are free to find work at the most highly paid centres, the rent charged is invariably high. It is not, as in Europe, at a fixed price per acre, the tribal and communal ideas of the native rule even here, but at per hut, and going with the occupation of the hut is the right to cultivate for the sustenance of the occupants, and some grazing for stock. The rent may be anything from £2 to £6 or £7 per hut per annum, and in cases it is even higher—steadily for years it has been increasing. Notwithstanding this, the freedom from calls on his labour, and from the immediate overlordship and interference of a white man, so appeals to the native, that he prefers to pay, or evade payment, of these high rents rather than that the Government should be able to call him out for road party work, or the European owner have claims upon his time as on the farms on which white men live. It more nearly approximates to what the native, at the bottom of his heart, desires above all else—to be let alone.

This system is viewed with high disfavour by the average colonist, whatever his views may be on other matters. Whether the political meeting be held in town or country it is always safe to abuse the owners of these farms, strangely enough called non-occupied, for not fulfilling what are regarded as the obligations of ownership. The larger the number of natives who make their homes and earn their living upon them the greater the offence. The popular idea is the occupation and cultivation by white men of all the lands of the colony; if the black man lives upon them, it must be as the servant of the white man, not as an independent tenant, nor as an owner in his own right. So generally and firmly held is this opinion, that when a Bill was before the Legislative Assembly with purport to tax the land other than that beneficially occupied, the difficulty of defining the term "beneficial occupation" was recognized and evaded, with the exception of the clause, that in any case, whatever

else it might or might not mean, it was essential that "beneficial" should mean European occupation. No matter how carefully he might cultivate or utilize the land, even to its utmost capacity, no black man could, in the terms of this proposed statute, beneficially occupy the land which was regarded as being the white man's heritage.

The natives on the farms on which Europeans live are in a different position to those mentioned. Here the terms of the agreement vary considerably and are being gradually tightened up from the native point of view year by year. In some parts of the country, principally those occupied by the Dutch, Umvoti, Vryheid, and Utrecht districts, no rent is charged for occupation to the native, but the kraal head is obliged to supply girls, boys, and young men for service in house and on farm. It is not usual to pay any wages, at all events in cash, but where the relations are amicable and the farmer is considerate, a heifer or other present in stock may be given at the end of the term.

In other cases a low rent is charged, and when natives come out to work a low wage is paid. And so it runs; but speaking generally, the wages paid by the farmer to those who live on his farm, are much lower than the same native would earn were he free to make an independent bargain, even in similar employment elsewhere, and very much lower than he would earn in Johannesburg or even Durban or Pietermaritzburg. In ordinary times and under ordinary conditions a native who might receive 10s. to 15s. per month on the farm on which he is a tenant could earn 25s. to 35s. in similarly laborious work elsewhere in Natal, or 50s. to 65s. or even more, in highly paid Johannesburg.

The contract between farmer and native is very seldom, one might say never, committed to writing. The native dislikes written contracts, he cannot understand them and fears they imply or contain more than he is told, and the farmer does not care to be explicitly bound. One obligation is always understood in the verbal agreement, viz. that

each native, not a kraal head, on the farm, shall, if required, work six months in each year. As a rule the contract is made, according to native custom, with the kraal head, who makes himself responsible for the presence of his kraal inmates when required. Before the young people tasted independence, and when the father's word was law, no difficulty was experienced, but to-day it is the fruitful cause of endless contention. The European demands labour from the kraal head, the sons evade the call or even defy the father, who has entered into obligations he is powerless to fulfil. In cases the position becomes strained, and the native tenant is called before the court and evicted. But even when loyally carried out by all parties, other troubles ensue. In some cases the term of six months is worked continuously, and the European allows the native when the term is finished, should he so desire, to go away and seek work at a more highly paid rate elsewhere. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for the landowner to call up his tenants at odd times to suit the exigencies of his work, which means that the six months' labour is spread over the whole year and the native is tied to the farm to suit the convenience of the employer. Not that the native considers this a grievance, as would a white man. If he is not pressed for money he probably prefers it—the easy way is the way for him—and it fits in with his temperament. But in many cases it is a distinct hardship, and when he wants money to buy cattle for lobolo, or has debts to pay, he feels it acutely, and although it may suit the ends of the individual master, it makes the native sullen and a reluctant worker, and the State is, in the aggregate, deprived of a very considerable amount of labour which would be available but for this cause.

Some few landowners, disgusted with the quality of labour obtained and the contingent difficulties and disagreements, have made arrangements more in accord with what obtains in Europe and elsewhere in connection with agricultural labour and its conditions. They only

take or keep on the farm a sufficient number of families to supply the labour requirements of their stock and cultivation, they charge no rent, but give sufficient ground to run a moderate quantity of stock, and to grow enough food for the family. They guarantee work all the year round to all those fit to labour at full current wages of the district. These are, however, only few, and they in most cases look on it as an experiment, but an experiment on better lines than the old system and one which promises better results in the future. They find the natives get expert at their work and much more valuable than casual labourers, and hope these good results will be cumulative. The general conditions in Natal between landowners and tenants on occupied farms are, however, what has been previously described; these just mentioned are the exceptions.

How all this works out as regards labour, the respective merits and demerits of the system and its modifications, its effect on the white landowner and employer, and the black tenant and servant, must be left until we discuss the sub-problem of Labour.

The collection of native rents is nearly always a troublesome business to the landowner. From their communal point of view the whole system is artificial, and contrived by the white man for his own enrichment. They feel the Government to whom they belong, and which should be their natural protector, has left them to the rapacity of those who are favoured. The hut tax to the Government they pay readily, it is their contribution to the power which shields them, but they often try to evade rents to private individuals, recognizing no such obligation to them. The rents are in many cases exceedingly high in the light of the money poverty of the natives. Even when he has the cash the native is in no hurry to pay, and in many cases he has not the wherewithal to pay, and summons and eviction are all too common. At one time in the books of a single magistrate were the names of eighty kraal heads, under notice to

quit their kraal sites, and no place could be found for them.

The difficulties of the land problem are much accentuated by the fact that the Abantu are primarily a pastoral people. As they describe it, cattle is their money, and they invest their savings and earnings in live stock as the white man puts his into the bank. But cattle-raising as followed by the natives predicates large runs; no artificial feeding is even dreamt of, the cattle must find their own food in the natural pastures. The white man, who is trying to improve his cattle, and has purchased imported animals, cannot risk his fine-bred stock mixing with the low grade common beasts of his tenant, nor can he afford the necessary grazing when the herds of the latter increase. So, in respect to the chief wealth of the native, the possession he values beyond all else, there is, upon all the natives on occupied farms, a constant pressure from outside to prevent accumulation, sometimes directly applied, but always, and at best, indirectly felt. The impecunious native with labour to sell, and not the well-to-do with cattle to graze, is the tenant the landowner desires. This factor alone would have brought—has even now brought—much trouble and friction, and only the decimation of the native herds, first by rinderpest and now by East Coast fever, has postponed for the present a serious position.

The transfer of the Crown lands to private ownership, and latterly the purchase of large tracts from European landlords, resident and absentee, for closer settlement by whites, have both aggravated the position. According to law the purchasers in both cases—Crown lands, and land for closer settlement—are only supposed to settle or allow to remain on the farm purchased, sufficient natives for bona-fide labour purposes. This regulation, it is true, has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance, but it has meant, as a general rule, more restriction of the liberty and opportunity of the black man.

In the old days, although the natives living on such

unsold Crown lands were tenants of the Government, paying rent at the rate of £2 a hut as well as the other class taxation, they were never considered when the land changed owners, no notice was given by the authorities of the change in their position and no provision was made for them elsewhere ! They had to shift for themselves as best they could when the purchaser appeared. One does not need a vivid imagination to picture the utter dismay brought to these people, living on ground familiar to their fathers, on getting such a notice without warning. Just lately, since attention was called to the matter by the Native Affairs Commission, it has received some thought from Government, but they are placed in a dilemma by their own actions. A large block of land in the upland districts has been bought by Government from private owners for European closer settlement. This area at present carries a large native population, it is their ancestral home. Notice has been served on kraal heads, representing five thousand souls, that the land has been transferred and they are liable to eviction. What will be done with them or where they will find new homes no man can say.

Two outstanding features of native character complicate the problem. The first is the intense local attachment to his home and neighbourhood, often the home of his fathers before him. The second is the childlike procrastination of an awkward or troublesome question. He may be in debt and the due date draw near ; rather than face it he will gladly incur further liability, at any rate of interest the lender demands, so that the fatal settlement be postponed. It will be seen how both these factors in his character work against his true interest in this matter of land. Rather than leave the old kraal site with all its associations he will promise any rent, or undertake any obligation to furnish labour, only realizing the onerous or impossible nature of the contract he has undertaken when due fulfilment is demanded. Evasion, duplicity, sullenness follow, and the white man says the native has

not the slightest conception of the sacred nature of a contract, and the relation is rendered still more bitter.

The straitness of the land for the requirements of the Abantu, living in the traditional way as pastoralist and agriculturist, is not confined to Natal. In varying degrees, it is operative all over South East Africa ; and even where the pressure is least felt, the increase of the population will rapidly bring it to pass. The natives of Basutoland are pressing close on the limits of the fertile and cultivable lands outside the cold and sterile mountain region. Zululand is certainly not fully occupied, but much of the area at present reserved for natives is liable to fever, and there are large districts in which water is scarce. In the Transkeian territories the native population is increasing close up to the capacity of the land to carry it as it is utilized by them to-day.

The position of the reservations set aside for the natives in the whole of the South African Union is as follows, at the last available date. A morgen is two and one-eighth acres.

| | Morgen. | Population. | Density Morgen per head. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| Cape Colony . . . | 6,400,000 | 1,057,610 | 6'05 |
| Natal proper . . . | 1,104,174 | 265,603 | 4'15 |
| Transvaal . . . | 789,752 | 343,522 | 2'29 |
| Orange Free State . . . | 38,704 | 17,000 | 2'27 |
| Basutoland . . . | 3,112,397 | 347,731 | 8'95 |
| Bechuanaland . . . | 38,592,759 | 100,000 | 385'54 |
| Zululand . . . | { 1,300,000 | 250,000 } | 5'69 |
| | { Approximately Approximately } | | |

The vast territory of Bechuanaland does not come within the immediate scope of our inquiry, but a word or two on its possibilities in regard to overflow of the native population is desirable. It is, generally, an arid country, and opinion differs as to its capacity to carry a considerable population ; all depends upon the possibility of finding and conserving water. There is evidence to show that proper and scientific examination of the resources of this immense tract of country would prove that water

can be tapped at moderate depths, and much can be done to conserve the not inconsiderable rainfall by making dams. If this can be done at a cost that is not prohibitive the country has possibilities, and may yet carry a large population, for the natural veldt is good and it is particularly healthy for cattle. The Hon. Dewdney Drew, in a most suggestive pamphlet on the native question, quoting from a State paper written by Sir Hamilton Goold Adams, Governor of the Free State, who has an intimate knowledge of Bechuanaland, worked out the question in detail, and is distinctly of opinion that it is quite practicable to find room in the territory for a large population of natives.

It will be well here to state briefly the position in the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and Basutoland in regard to land. In the first named the vast mass of the Abantu people lived between the Kei and Umzimkulu rivers, including in this area Pondoland, and generally termed the Transkeian territories. The greater portion of this fertile, healthy, and well-watered country is reserved for natives. The area of the Cape Colony native reservations is approximately 21,000 square miles, which carries a population of about 1,100,000, the balance of the native people, some 450,000 souls, being outside the reserved area living in urban locations, farms, or private locations sanctioned by law, which are established on farms. Originally, the whole of the reserve land of the Transkeian territories was held tribally in communal tenure, but the policy of the Cape Government for some years has been to gradually accustom the natives to a system akin to that current among Europeans, under which a native could acquire a conditional title to a surveyed allotment, sufficient for himself and family. The Government, with unusual foresight, saw a time rapidly approaching when an increasing number of the natives would be dissatisfied with the old communal occupation and desire a firmer hold on the land they cultivated and occupied, a title more in keeping with their new ideas and growing individualism.

They therefore made provision by proclamation, that any districts, so desiring, could be brought under survey, and the inhabitants secured in their holdings by having them beacons and marked off, and given an individual title on certain conditions, the principal of which were and are:—

That the allotment cannot be transferred without the consent of Government.

That no spirituous liquor shall be sold thereon on pain of forfeiture of title.

That the land shall not be executable for debt.

That in case of rebellion on the part of the holder, or if he be sentenced for a crime entailing imprisonment for over twelve months, the allotment is liable to forfeiture.

No allotment can be sublet.

Although, very wisely, no pressure is brought to bear on the natives except that of reason, and the object lesson of districts which have made the change; and although the adoption of the proclamation is permissive, the natives of the Transkei have accepted this, to them, novel principle of land-holding with wonderful unanimity. It would appear to be only a question of time when the whole of the Transkeian territories will be held in individual title on the above or similar terms. That is, the whole of the arable land will be so appropriated, for in each district, areas are set apart for grazing, which are held in common and to which each allottee has access.

Whilst this radical change is being gradually effected in respect of land tenure, an experiment was being tried of giving the people a large share in the management of their local affairs by means of district councils, and a more intimate interest in the larger affairs of the territory by a General Council. To this I make more extended reference elsewhere. It is, however, closely linked up to the land question in that provision is made for the taxation of the people by themselves, and the expenditure of the revenue collected on schemes of local betterment.

Under the advice and guidance of the European magistrates, they have, since the establishment of these opportunities of self-government, wisely spent increasing sums on agricultural education and the general encouragement of agricultural progress. This has meant a better utilization of the land, and the stimulus thus working, in co-ordination with the natural impulse to develop given by security of title, has led to great general improvement, going hand in hand with economy of land, compared with the wasteful methods of the past.

The position in regard to the land of the Transkei has recently been reviewed by the Hon. H. Burton, who when Minister of Justice (Attorney-General) of the Cape Colony made a journey through the Transkei and reported thereon. It has also been closely investigated in detail by a commission appointed by the Governor during the present year (1910). This commission was presided over by Colonel Stanford, C.B., C.M.G., and their report was published a few months ago. A further examination into the land and self-government question was made by a deputation from Natal, consisting of the Rev. F. B. Bridgman of the American Zulu Mission, and two natives of standing and education, Posselt Gumede and Martin N. Lutuli. They were specially appointed by the Natal Government to visit the Transkei, and they had every facility given them, including an opportunity to sit through the session of the General Council. All these authorities, to whom I refer elsewhere, agree in attributing the progress made in agriculture and life, and the contented condition of the people, largely to what is called the generous and enlightened policy of the Cape Government and its officials, in respect to land and self-government. The last-named report is perhaps especially interesting and instructive to us, as the deputation was, from lifelong acquaintance with the conditions in Natal, qualified to make comparisons with what they found under the different conditions and the different policy which there obtained.

Outside the Government reserves, it is possible for natives in the Cape Colony to acquire land by purchase, and a certain number have done so. A large population also lives as servants on farms both in portions of the Transkeian territories and in the Cape Colony proper, these together numbering some 220,000 souls.

There is a system in vogue in parts of the Cape Colony which is unknown in Natal, by which the land-owner enters into partnership with his native tenants, he finding the land and they the labour, and the crop is divided between them. The proportions to each vary according to circumstances, and also whether the land-owner supplies seed, implements, or other consideration than the bare land.

The settlement of natives on farms, beyond those required as farm servants, is discouraged in the Cape Colony. Owners of land who desire to take on native tenants, must take out a licence from Government, such licence being only issued upon the authority of Government and with the consent of the Divisional Council. The owner of the land is responsible for licence fees of £1 per annum for each male living on the land, and for the hut tax of 10s. per annum for each hut. These amounts are, doubtless, finally reckoned in the rent and paid by the tenant. These private locations do not account for any large number of the Abantu people of the Cape Colony, probably at the present time between 40,000 and 50,000 residing thereon.

In Natal, the natives working in urban areas are provided with quarters by the employers whether they are employed in domestic service or in stores or business houses, but the system is different in the Cape Colony. There, attached to the principal towns, and at some distance from the residences of the Europeans, is the native location; there live not only the single male and female servants, but families of natives, many of whom reside there permanently. The merits of this system, both from the European and native points of view, as compared with

what is the custom in Natal, has been often discussed, and opinions differ. Undoubtedly the sanitary and moral condition of many of these locations leaves much to be desired. It only impinges on the question of land in so far as in many cases natives rent a plot in the location, erect their own houses, and inasmuch as the dwellers therein are permanent residents they relieve the land elsewhere. In Cape Colony probably no less than 120,000 live in these urban locations at the present time.

The position in the Transvaal approximates more closely, in many respects, to that of Natal, the provision made by Government in reserves being, however, much less. Although the Abantu population of the Transvaal is approximately that of Natal (including Zululand) only some 1,356,800 acres are set aside as Government locations. Natives cannot hold land in their own right, but have been allowed to acquire it, the title resting in a Government nominee, originally the Location Commission, subsequently the Superintendent of Natives, and now the Commission for Native Affairs. By private arrangement, in some cases lands have been bought by natives and registered in the names of friendly Europeans or the missionaries. There are over half a million acres thus owned by natives, the large proportion of which has been purchased by tribal subscription, and is occupied communally. Although, according to law, only five native families may occupy a farm or subdivision of a farm, over half the native population of the Transvaal live on privately owned land, some occupied, but the greater portion not occupied by Europeans, but left entirely to the natives. The law restricting the number of natives on private lands is, as in Natal, a dead letter. The majority of these farms, which are practically private native locations, are in the remoter districts of Zoutpansberg, Waterberg, Lydenburg, often in country unhealthy for Europeans. As in Natal, the rents vary considerably, and also as there, the owners make labour demands on their tenants. The Transvaal Government owns a large area of Crown lands, amount-

ing in all to 19,737,600 acres on which about 180,000 natives are squatting, every cultivator paying to Government a rent of one pound sterling per annum.

In Basutoland, the whole territory is held in trust for the Basuto nation by the Resident Commissioner, and neither he nor the paramount chief can alienate it. Notwithstanding the very material progress made by the Basuto in education, the arts, and agriculture, they all hold their land under the tribal system, and there does not appear to have been a demand, certainly there has been no effective demand, for private ownership of land. Basutoland is in area 3,112,397 morgen, and on this live about 350,000 natives equal to 8.95 morgen per head. It must be remembered that, though parts of Basutoland are fertile and remarkably healthy for stock, much the greater part consists of rocky, moory mountain heights averaging probably 8000 to 9000 feet above sea-level, a cold inhospitable country in which corn will not ripen, and in which cattle would starve if left the whole year round.

As mentioned elsewhere, the area of land set apart for Abantu people in Cape Colony is approximately 6,400,000 morgen, on which live about 1,100,000 people or say 6.05 morgen per head. It is exceedingly difficult, even for one who knows both the Transkei and Basutoland, to say, with any degree of exactitude, which area is naturally the most productive both for agriculture and stock raising, morgen for morgen. The opinions of those who would be considered experts would probably differ widely. To compare, say Pondoland and the coast districts of the Transkei with the highlands of Basutoland, is to compare countries differing much in climate, elevation, rainfall, contour. In many respects the former has advantages, more regular rainfall, shelter for stock, warmth and early maturity of crops. The latter is more healthy for stock; and more valuable crops, especially wheat, can be grown, which do not thrive in the coastal districts. Taking it, all in all, and especially considering the large area of

Basutoland which is too elevated for comfortable human existence, I should say that probably the available area fit for human occupation, per head of the present population, is much the same in the two districts. I make this comparison because we have here two countries each with a large native population at present, prosperous and contented, but in which the policy respecting the land is totally different. In the Transkei the policy of the Cape Government has been, as I have shown, to introduce and encourage modified European methods, the gradual acquirement of definite fixed areas by individuals; in Basutoland, under the Imperial Government, there has been a strict adherence to the ancestral tribal and communal system. Though the districts vary very much, there does not appear to be any great natural advantage in one as compared with the other, and the amount of land practically available per head may be regarded as the same.

Though under systems of tenure so dissimilar, for both may be claimed a considerable measure of success. In both the natives are contented, thriving, fairly industrious; in both large quantities of valuable produce are grown by them. It is claimed, by those who advocate the Cape Colony methods, that the Transkeian natives occupy the territory to greater advantage and actually raise more from the land than would be possible if it was fully occupied by Europeans. In his valuable and most interesting work on the Basuto, Sir Godfrey Lagden says, "They are not exploited by the State, but are shown the way to prosper, aided only by capital withdrawn from their own funds when it can be usefully employed to develop lines of work from which flow industry and betterment. The tendency is to bring out the best side of a naturally industrious people. The imports of this small community approximate annually to a quarter of a million sterling, almost entirely for clothing and goods manufactured in the United Kingdom; the exports to a similar value of agricultural produce dispersed for consumption in South

Africa. *No white population would produce as much in the space available."*

Viewed by the white man, it would appear incontrovertible that, to ensure the best results from the land, the cultivator must have individual security of tenure, freehold or its equivalent. This is undoubtedly necessary to the best utilization by the European; his instincts and reasoning combine to tell him so, and experience in European countries, and especially in British Colonies, proves it to be correct in his case. This view is taken by many well-wishers to the Abantu in South Africa, and adopted in many cases by the natives themselves both in Cape Colony and elsewhere.

The experience in Basutoland seems to show that given a settled form of government, under the guidance of enlightened and sympathetic European administrators, it is possible to obtain a considerable measure of agricultural success and general prosperity under the communal system. What would be fatal to the best results, if applied to Europeans, does not bar success when continued by natives—the custom is their own, and under circumstances otherwise favourable they do not feel its drawbacks and restraints. However much we may approve individual title, it seems certain we ought not to force it on any branch of the Abantu. If they desire and seek it, well and good, any disabilities it may bring in its train can and must then be faced by those who voluntarily undertook it. The rapid growth of the native population will probably force us to judge of the merits of the two systems primarily on their respective possibilities to carry an increased and increasing population on a given area. From my experience in Natal, I should judge that on this criterion individual allotments would justify this system. It means, of course, that finally there will be a differentiation of the people into two classes, the landed and the landless. To what complications in the future this may give birth we cannot tell. Whether the mass would be more contented to be squeezed into smaller

areas and adjust themselves on a rough principle of give and take ; or a line of cleavage be established with possible jealousy and hostility of classes, cannot be predicted with any certainty. It is essentially a problem to be worked out as we gain actual and practical experience.

Meantime, the experiments being tried in the Transkei and Basutoland are full of interest and will be watched as they progress by all friends of the Abantu people, and the application of one or other method to other groups will largely depend on the experience gained.

With other races, when similar conditions of congestion have gradually come about, there has been time for adjustment, the agriculturalist has been transformed into a city dweller and industrialist. Here the rapid increase in the population, their innate conservatism, and the great fact that the ruling race has different ideals (which it has been so intent on pursuing that it has not had time to recognize the problem or knowledge to adjust it), has allowed it to grow until the position has become, or soon will be, acute. The native has been wonderfully willing to leave his home to work for short intervals under unfamiliar surroundings. At any one time, hundreds of thousands are away from all they love best, undertaking tasks they abhor in their hearts. But never do they quit the home life, never permanently cut themselves off from the kraal and what it stands for. A limited number may do so, a few degraded young men fall under the spell, absorb the vices of town life, and there remain, and this number is, unfortunately, increasing. I was surprised the other day to learn that about one hundred native families are actually living in Durban. But these exceptions only prove the rule. Back to the land is the inarticulate cry of the Abantu, and no relief of the situation is likely to be brought about by those who will accept entirely new conditions of life which would connote abandonment of all they value. Nor is it well it should be so. If our aim is to be the conservation of what is best in this people, if they have any ethnic value as a

race unit, then such a fundamental disintegration of what is so intimately and vitally interwoven in their constitution would be fatal.

They are utterly unprepared for such a violent change as is implied in the transference of large numbers from their present environment to the industrial life of cities. Galling as it may be to the captain of industry to see thousands of more or less intelligent, exceptionally strong men and women all around and yet unavailable to him, the position would be made infinitely more difficult and embarrassing by any relief which could be given by breaking up their present life, and with it all standards of conduct and all the wholesome restraints to which they are accustomed. Torn from the present controls and sanctions and plunged into the whirlpool of city and industrial life, without even the occasional return to sweeter and healthier conditions, makes one who knows them shudder for their future. And if our own race life is to remain pure and our ideals uncontaminated, equally for us would such a course be disastrous. At whatever sacrifice of possible economic developments, the remedy for the present difficulty is not by rapid, and what may seem easy adjustment, but by more gradual means, at least as much of conservation as of transformation.

The unconscious conservatism which has enabled them to persist in a life healthy and suited to their temperament, has been, so far, of the utmost value to the race, and it is our part to recognize it and consciously support them in their unpremeditated adhesion to what is best in their life plan. Changes have taken place with ever-increasing rapidity; more are being evolved. Some of them we can with advantage accept; we must retard the forward swing of others; but we must not, for an easy path and the apparent immediate easing of a strained position, throw down all that keeps this primitive people to their valued and valuable race life.

Back to the land is the cry in the older countries, where they have experienced the dire results of exagger-

ated city life, and the thought of the best among them is directed to replace, by more natural conditions, what has insidiously developed into a cancer in their national life. Here we have a people crying aloud against the divorce threatening them. Along the line of the genius of a race much may be done, much may be modified, wounds may be healed, and development and progress made possible ; counter to it, dire distress and eventual destruction of the race ideal. Of infinite import and value to the Abantu race has been this clinging to the land with all it implied. It has preserved them from the dissolution which a too ready compliance with the temptations held out by our civilization would have implied. The race still stands firm ; its attachment to the land has saved it.

I have said that, according to native ideas, the locations in Natal are full and the reserves in other parts of South East Africa are nearing the limit of population they will accommodate. This, however, does not mean that, speaking of the whole, they will not, if properly and fully utilized, carry a much larger number of people. Most wasteful and extravagant are native methods of farming, both pastoral and agricultural. No fencing, no manuring, no proper allocation of the land to various purposes is really attempted. Due attention to these matters, and especially, in many districts, to the finding and conservation of water, and in others the prevention of the causes which lead to malarial fever, and room for a large increase of population, could be found. If, along with the better utilization of the land, home industries could be taught and fostered, and facilities given for the easy, rapid, and safe transfer of labourers to centres of employment, and the conditions there made as little uncongenial and as little detrimental to morals and manners as possible, a great deal would be achieved in preserving the home life of the people, so essential if they are as a race to have a reasonable opportunity to develop and conserve what is best in them.

Before I close this chapter, and at the risk of recapitu-

lation, I will again say a few words on the new departure in land tenure, for I feel that it is a subject of the first importance and one that should be viewed from all sides. I feel that the success of the experiment in the Transkeian territories will lead to its adoption sooner or later, and probably sooner than later, in other parts of South East Africa. The Natal Native Affairs Commission recommended that a beginning in individual tenure be made as an experiment on the Mission reserves in Natal, and that as experience proved it desirable it be extended to the locations. As compared with the communal system, it so strongly appeals to the white man that his general support may be expected to any schemes for extension. Such extension should, however, be carefully watched. The obvious advantages of individual tenure are such as, in the eyes of the European, to make it inconceivable that any person should fail to appreciate them, and above all that any should prefer the archaic tribal plan. All the undoubted advantages of the individualistic, as against the socialistic and collective, are those which appeal least to the native, and can only be appreciated by him when his tribal instincts have become attenuated. The advantage of giving security to a man in his own, so that he can fully develop it, and personally gain by such development, is fundamentally contrary to native instincts. Another advantage claimed by the advocates of the new system is that it gives the allottee a stake in the country, and with that he becomes a force on the side of law and order. This is so ; but the force of the argument appeals to the white man and not to the black. Bound up by strongest cords of attachment to his tribe and chief, he does not need any material stake in the country to strengthen his devotion to his community. The wealthier the white man, the more he is supposed to be on the side of conservatism and the settled order ; the poorer the native, the more he feels the need of and rests upon the strength of the community.

One strong argument in favour of survey and allot-

ment is that the land will be better utilized and carry a much greater population. This must be admitted as probable, and the present wasteful methods in many parts under the old system, are shocking to the economic sense of every European. If the new system prevails, a time will come, unless the fecundity of the Abantu be greatly diminished, when all the arable land will be taken up, and under the rigid individualistic system the people will be divided into landowners and landless. Had the old tenure prevailed, its elasticity would prevent this distinction and all might have had a resting-place and home on the land, though under conditions probably militating against progress, and which might become, in time, positively appalling to the European.

I am not opposing individual tenure. To some extent it is inevitable; provision must be made for many who have fully accepted the way of the white man. I want to emphasize here again the different angle from which black and white view life, and illustrate it once again in this connection; and my endeavour to give the different points of view has a practical application. If I am right it should make us pause before we apply principles so clear and obviously beneficial to us, to those who cannot appreciate them. And therefore, I say, whilst experiment should be made in the new system of land tenure, the extension and its effect on the people should be carefully watched. Whatever system be adopted, let the roots of the Abantu people remain in the soil of their country. From that connection in the past they have drawn health, strength, sanity, in the troubled future it will be the most salutary influence in keeping them from degeneration and despair.

CHAPTER VI.

LABOUR—THE DEMAND OF THE WHITE MAN.

BEFORE the appearance of the white man in South East Africa, the conditions of life of the Abantu did not demand continuous manual labour. The climate was genial, land abundant, life simple, and wants few, so that their actual requirements were easily provided in normal times. The man might clear the ground, make the utensils and weapons, milk the cows, hunt, and go to war. The boys herded the cattle and goats, the women had the more laborious work of tilling the ground, gathering the wood, carrying the water, and any other service undefined as within the sphere of the man.

The white man appeared, and in the early days his requisitions for service were not onerous, and the native responded to them without much demur. The operations and activities of the European grew and widened, and more and more native labour was required, and, speaking generally, the black man was found ready to undertake all that was asked. Considering the enormously increased demand, far above that of any increase in the number of labourers, and bearing in mind his antecedents and previous mode of living, his response to the unaccustomed was marvellous, and far beyond that of any race in a like stage of culture of which we have any knowledge.

In South East Africa the white man draws a distinction between what he considers the work of a white man and Kaffir work, and is very jealous of any infringement of what he thinks are his labour rights. All clerical work, practically all handicrafts, all skilled work in con-

nection with machinery, all supervision are regarded as the prerogative of the European. If a firm employed native clerks, they would probably be boycotted ; if a native was seen doing the skilled work in connection with the erection of a building, the Press would teem with indignant letters. To plough, to dig, to hoe, to fetch and carry, to cook—all laborious and menial toil is the duty of the black man. The average white man would consider it degrading to be seen doing any of these things in the public eye. There are a few occupations which either may undertake, but only a few—either may drive a vehicle ; a black man may, often under protest, do the plainest kinds of painting. Occasionally you may see a white man, possibly an enthusiast in gardening exercise, dig up a flower bed or perhaps wheel a barrow in his own private domain, although even this is rare ; but never in the towns do you see a black man use pen or plane, saw or chisel. All the hard work, up to the actual use of the tools, he is called upon to perform ; he carries the bag of tools on his back, he places the plank in position and takes it away, he eases the white man of much he would be called upon to do elsewhere, but he must not do the actual skilled part. In some trades, for some unexplained reason, perhaps in part because the workshops do not come under the observation of the ever-critical public, the native may be employed in the less skilled portions ; they do nearly all the stitching in the harness trade and are employed as boot and shoe repairers, and, as I said, they are somewhat grudgingly allowed the painting of an iron roof or building or a plain fence.

Not a trade or calling of which I am aware is carried on throughout by the white man alone ; the natives are the labourers to the carpenter, hodmen and mortar mixers to the bricklayer, the strikers to the blacksmith, porters in the stores, messengers in the offices. In nearly every case, the white man employed in these callings places a larger share of the hard work on the

shoulders of the native than he would do on an apprentice or labourer of his own race. Even in skilled trades, in countries in which the population is homogeneous, a certain amount of unpleasant or menial work attaches to the trade and is performed by the skilled artisan; in South East Africa all this is done by the black man—the white man is not expected to undertake it; it is Kaffir's work.

In domestic service they have a practical monopoly. The last evidence of the poverty of a family in South East Africa would be the inability to employ the ubiquitous *umfaan* to sweep, to wash, to tend the baby. The work, that elsewhere is regarded as the duty of the wives of those who are not in affluent circumstances, the rougher work of the household, is rarely undertaken by them personally in South East Africa. It is the work of the Kaffir.

And all this labour is intermittent. Nowhere is it expected that the native shall work on from year's end to year's end, as does the white man. Even on the farms his kraal is away from the homestead and his labour is not continuous. To the towns he comes from his home in the location, twenty, fifty, it may be a hundred miles or more away, and his limit of continuous service is from six to nine months, when he is seized with nostalgia, and neither threats nor promises can retain, and "Jim" disappears and is probably never again seen by his employer.

And on the disappearance of the boy the trouble of the average Natal town household begins. Through stress and strain the departed and lamented one has learned much. He had got accustomed to the particular variety of Kitchen-Kaffir talked by his mistress, or had begun to understand English, he had learned the desires and ways of the household, and with variants to suit himself, and accepted by his employers as the line of least resistance, he fulfilled their desires. He turned out uncommonly sharp, his mistress told of his accomplishments to the neighbours, and if his kitchen was not spotless and he was found doing

sundry dirty tricks—well, he saved every one so much disagreeable labour that such trifles must be tolerated. Now he has gone. The only way to replace him is to tell all the boys employed by the neighbours that a kitchen boy is wanted, and they are to look out and catch the new comer from the country as he arrives. If labour is scarce, days may pass and no boy. All the household are reduced to doing their own work or leaving it undone. The late boy had muddled through so much, leaving his employers untroubled, that the change was most disagreeable, and besides, what was the good of starting doing things for oneself when a boy may turn up to-morrow. And a boy does actually turn up, to the hidden delight of all. He is introduced by a friend, both of whom are utterly unknown to the employer; it is true he has an identification pass which might apply to the next half-dozen boys one meets of about the same size. The questions asked are few, no character is demanded or produced, the principal point is the amount of wages, and the new boy is installed. His Kitchen-Kaffir is quite unlike that of the last boy, and he has not worked in a kitchen before. The language difficulty being great, and the density of the boy considerable, those who should instruct him in his work soon get wearied, and he is allowed to pick up the rudiments of a kitchen education as best he can, his employers willing to condone much, providing a crisis is kept at bay. In time, he learns how to get through as easily as possible to himself, and though acknowledged to be extremely dirty, is allowed to remain—the alternative of being boy-less is out of the question. And so he muddles through until in time he goes back to his kraal over the Tugela and another takes his place.

Though there are household managers made of sterner stuff who personally work themselves or strictly supervise the native, the above is an exact picture of the position of the boy in many—most—town houses in Natal. Two or three things strike the observer. One is that a boy utterly unknown, without character, is, if the wages are

satisfactorily arranged, immediately received into the family and trusted with its secrets and possessions ; it speaks volumes for the general trustworthiness of the Abantu. Another is that though the native may never have been in a white man's house before, he is expected to undertake and understand all the mysteries of his wants, his appliances, and to be an experienced kitchenmaid with but the merest pretence at instruction on the part of the employer. This indicates great adaptability on the part of the native, but it predicates also that the work is done in a slovenly and inefficient way, and that houses so run would leave much to be desired from the point of view and standard of some countries. But the ease and comfort to the white is indubitable, and these drawbacks are tolerated. Many a family who left Natal during the depression, and which has had to live in the harder conditions of Britain or other colonies, have sorely missed the native. Whether they were really better or worse for his presence is another question and forms another phase of the inquiry.

During the depressed times following the Boer war employment was sometimes difficult to obtain, but in normal times the demand is fully equal to the supply, and all natives, willing to work for Europeans, can obtain employment. The gold mines of the Witwatersrand and the coal mines of Natal can always absorb all who are able and willing to undertake the journeys thereto.

The demands of the native worker on his employer are not exigent ; he never makes any complaint as to housing, and bad enough some of it often is ; mealie meal which he cooks himself is the only food provided, unless he be the kitchen boy, in which case he devours the family leavings. If the mealie meal is stale he generally makes the fact known, but the customs, rules, and observances which make the position of the employer of white labour, domestic and other, often so harassing, are unknown to the native. From sunrise to sunset are his hours, he may be sent anywhere, however distant, and

told to do anything, however arduous ; his lodging, however bad, he accepts, and his food is of the very simplest. No wonder the white man, when he goes elsewhere, misses the native.

Confining my remarks for the moment to Natal, and bearing in mind that there are about eleven black persons, counting natives only, for each white one, remembering also that it is not an industrial country in the ordinary acceptance of the term, it is difficult to understand how employment can be found by the comparatively few Europeans for this vast number of natives, and it is increasingly wonderful when we find that their labour was not sufficient and it was thought necessary to supplement it by the importation of indentured Indian labourers, who now, with their descendants, considerably outnumber the Europeans.

Familiarity with these extraordinary conditions blinds the average colonist to the singularity of the position, and it is accepted as the normal condition of things. True, the Europeans are not satisfied with the practical outcome—labour is always a theme of conversation ; but the talk revolves about the details, wages, laziness, unreliability of the workers—few seem to see the singularity of the whole situation.

The effect of this very unusual condition of things on the character of the white population I will consider at a later stage, for it is obvious that such an environment must have considerable effect. Meantime, I will deal with the question on the lower plane, and try to give some reasons for the anomalies that are present among us in South East Africa in regard to labour.

In early days labour was abundant and wages very low. Life was extremely easy for the white man. He might not make much money, but he could easily obtain all that was necessary for existence, and there was no call for great exertion—it was quite simple, when necessary, to get the native to make the exertion. It became a rule of life to call upon the native to do everything demanding

physical effort,—even small matters for which no real exertion was needed were regarded as the duty of the black man, and he had to be at call to undertake them. The saddling of a horse, harnessing a trap, carrying a parcel, going an errand, were all relegated to the boy. A new-comer, accustomed to do all these things for himself, and who naturally attempted to continue to do the same, was on all hands told that such effort was unnecessary here ; he was quickly inoculated with our system by being told—the phrases are so familiar—“ Oh, the boy will do that ” ; or “ Oh, leave that to the boy ”. It was an easy system, easily engrafted on all who entered the country, and it still remains. When examined, it is not difficult to see that this attitude and what it entails means a great waste of labour.

It fitted in exactly with the ideas of the native on the labour question. To him it was quite in keeping with the proper order of things that the white man, who was a great 'Nkosi, should keep a number of servants, not necessarily because he wants them for definite and continuous labour, but as retainers, as a chief has his tail, to keep up the dignity of the house. And partly because it was so easy, and in part because the native played up to the idea, and his influence, though silent, is weighty, you may see big, strong, capable men kept from really useful and suitable labour at call to do trifles, because of what has become the custom of the country. The underlying idea, that the black must be available and at call whenever wanted, permeated the whole relations of employer and employed. In heavy work, stark muscle being always available, little thought was given to better methods or mechanical aids ; the presence of the black man rendered this unnecessary, the easiest plan was simply to put on more natives.

It would be thought that the influx of new blood used to harder conditions, the immigration of self-helpful ones from Northern Europe and all-white colonies, would have been a powerful force for resisting and preventing

this custom and way of life becoming universally adopted. Not so, even common observation remarked on the inglorious way in which the new-comer succumbed to the insidious influence. The first week he cleaned his own boots and walked on foot, the second week he sent a message boy to tell the stable boy to saddle his horse. The European at his own special and particular work—telegraphy, typewriting, book-keeping—at which the native could not possibly assist, might be and remain alert and energetic, but outside of that the boy was ever present, ever in demand. Strong, able-bodied men, who, in all-white colonies, would necessarily have to do the work of men gaining skill and aptitude, are here, much to their satisfaction, kept at a job which could be done by a maid-servant or office boy—even they would be only partly employed. Examples could be found all over the colony in town and country alike. One good example may be seen any day in the Colonial Buildings in Pietermaritzburg. Here, lounging about the long corridors, or sitting on arm-chairs (kindly provided by Government) in the grassy quadrangles, may be seen dozens of adult native men, generally the pick of their race. Huge, splendidly built, intelligent fellows, spotless in white canvas suits, they add a dignity to their surroundings were it not indeed for the incongruity of their employment. These men, fit for the most strenuous physical toil, any one of whom could easily carry a burden fifty miles a day, are threading beads and making wire bangles during the long intervals of rest between the calls of a white office boy to go a message into the next street. Any day in Durban or Pietermaritzburg, an observant eye can notice cases of waste of labour by the score. Parcels are despatched from stores by natives which are insufficiently addressed and without proper instruction to the native—the phrase, “Oh, the boy will find the place somehow,” indicates the attitude adopted, and thus hours are wasted; if natives were not so plentiful a cart and horse would deliver the lot in half the time. A dozen

natives are sent with a heavily laden cart up hills and through sand—they never complain or even remonstrate—time and muscle are no object, and they always arrive somehow, but in no country where labour is scarce or highly paid could such a waste be tolerated ; other means of transport must necessarily be found.

After a two years' trip in Europe, America, and Australasia I returned to South Africa. As the steamer neared the dock in Durban Bay the heavy gangway was being pushed into position by nearly fifty black men. Some were putting their weight into the work, the majority just there to make the quota. I had not seen such a sight for two years, and it vividly brought to mind the fact that I was back in Africa once more, where the black man sets the pace. I could give innumerable instances of the extravagant waste of labour material going on all over South East Africa. Any observant person may see them, but they are usually not noticed because of their very familiarity, but I can promise any open-eyed person a good deal of amusement and information if attention is devoted to this subject.

When speaking of the land, attention was directed to the position of the natives as tenants and as labourers on the farms. A little more consideration may now be given to this from the labour side of the question. Although their homes are on the farms, and their position is that of tenants under agreement to work thereon, but few are expected to work all the year round. As they have stock and gardens of their own, it would be unreasonable to expect all those capable of labour to do so, their own tillage and affairs require some of their time, and this is admitted by the employer. But the system of paying a low wage, lower than they could earn elsewhere, for six months' service in the year means, in practice, that they are more or less reluctant or even dissatisfied labourers and do not put their heart into their work. To get thoroughly good work, kept at anything like a high pitch for a length of time from men so

situated, is very difficult, and only an approximation can be obtained by constant supervision ; evasion, eye-service, and malingering are constantly going on. This is all bad enough when the six months' service is given continuously, but when, as pointed out before, the landowner and employer calls out his natives at any time during the twelve months, it spells, in the aggregate, thousands of natives prevented from labouring elsewhere whether they wished to do so or not.

The acme of waste is reached when, as is so often the case, the native is working out a debt. A boy gets into trouble, he has been heavily fined for faction fighting or he wants an advance to buy some cheap cattle towards his lobolo, or he is a spendthrift and borrows to buy some coveted article in the store. The white man is willing to advance the necessary or desired sum, if the native will agree to work it off at a very low rate of wages. Unthrifty, without foresight, careless as to what he may contract to suffer in the future, if the present difficulty may be met or gratification obtained, he does agree, often for a term far longer than is usual. At first he may work fairly well, but the extended term begins to pall, he has not the satisfaction of handling any wages at the month's end, he gets lazy, sullen, evasive. A past master in the art of passing the time without effort, with nothing to occupy his mind but to devise the most effective way of dodging his work, his master either gives up the struggle and allows him to do as he likes or resorts to violent methods. The boy deserts, the police arrest him, and he is sentenced to a term in gaol, and, his sentence finished, is sent back to his master to work out the rest of his time. The former unsatisfactory position is now rendered acute, his disinclination for work becomes a very loathing, and he is utterly spoiled for honest labour. The amount of time and effort thus wasted, the amount of labour spoiled by this pernicious system, is incalculable.

On some farms, where perhaps the owner has a per-

sonality liked by the natives, he has far more labour than is actually necessary for his operations. Easy-going and tolerant, the natives flock to him, and he employs in casual fashion, and to their satisfaction, many more than he really needs, and thus keeps them from the open labour market. I know farms on which every child, boy and girl, has its attendant native *umfaan* or *intombe*, who grows up with it in the fashion of the *Topsies* of the old Southern States. The relations in such cases are patriarchal and pleasant, but it means an economic waste of large proportions.

The presence of the black man in such numbers undoubtedly prevents or retards the use of labour-saving appliances, and means an amount of physical hand labour for results that would be astonishingly meagre to the agriculturist of the American States or Australasia accustomed only to highly paid white labour. There are progressive agriculturists in South East Africa, whose methods and machinery are up to the standard of such countries, but undoubtedly, the tendency is to employ or have command of a far larger number of employees and hangers-on than would be possible in a country with a homogeneous white population.

In part due to language difficulties, part to the obtuseness and ignorance and stupidity of some natives, part to the carelessness of the white man, and in larger part to the fact that the work of the native is not continuous for a length of time, he is seldom properly instructed in the work he is given to do, and he has little help, encouragement, or even supervision. He will be set a task in the morning, often by word of mouth only, sent to a distance unaccompanied. He surveys the job and according to his dim light does his best. Hours or even days pass, and then the employer comes to inspect and finds the whole business upside down. According to temperament he weeps or swears, the native in either case quite bewildered at the happening. He thought things were going sweetly, or never thought at all, and this demonstration is alto-

gether inexplicable. The next time he is sent to a job, he undertakes it tentatively and with great misgiving as to the ultimate verdict on his effort, and doubtful as to results, gingerly does as little as possible. Then he gets branded as incorrigibly lazy.

When a native engages with a white man willingly, on terms which he considers satisfactory, he is generally desirous (it is an integral part of his nature) to please his employer. A gentle demeanour, an obvious desire to put the native on the right lines, encouragement when it is deserved, and advice from time to time, will often make a native active and intelligent in his work and devoted to his master's interest for the time he remains in service. On the other hand, it may often be seen that an abrupt manner, hectoring, and the absence of instruction, recognition, and advice, will put a boy who had higher possibilities at once into the dull squad. Much too frequently their utter ignorance of our methods, appliances, and desires are forgotten or overlooked. The case of the boy who was given a spade and wheel-barrow to weed and clean a garden path may be mentioned. He was found after a time of effort and probably mental distress, loosening the weeds with a corner of the spade (why was it made square?) gathering them together with his fingers, putting them in the barrow and then carrying the barrow on his head to the destination of the weeds!

There is little inducement for him to improve himself as a worker. He cannot ascend beyond the sphere of labourer, and, generally speaking, one labourer gets the same wage as the rest. True, a few become good drivers, washermen, expert within a limited round as bricklayers' labourers, and return to the same kind of employment and earn wages somewhat higher than usual. The majority are at one spell kitchen boys, at the next togt labourers, the next time working in a store, learning nothing fully and effectively and with but little inducement to learn. The few who return to the same employer and who are fortu-

nate enough to find a master who takes an interest in them and instructs them in their work are admirable servants, trustworthy, intelligent, clean, often hard working and always uncomplaining. The drawback is the recurrence of the visit to the kraal, but, in many cases, a capable substitute is always provided by the home-goer before he leaves, and on the return of the old boy he takes in turn his holiday. Some of the old Natal families have natives who began as boys and have grown to be old men in their service, whose service is admirable, and whose loyal devotion to their old employers is touching. I have natives working for me who have not served elsewhere, and who have been in my service for from twenty to twenty-five years, and who are to-day as respectful, trustworthy, and altogether dependable as ever they were. Often have they been left for months together, the house open, and everything in their charge, and on our return all found as when it was left. On one occasion the absence of the family in Europe extended to two years and a half; and, all the household possessions left open, the natives in charge accounted for everything to the smallest detail.

Except in the small up-country towns and on the farms, native female domestic servants are the exception. There are many thousands of big strong boys and able-bodied men engaged in domestic service whose work in white countries would be done by European women. This domestic service includes the care of young children, and too often brings them into close and intimate relation with domestic arrangements, secrets of the household, which should be sacred to the members of the family. The boy, too often, is considered not to count, and sees much that cannot raise the status and prestige of the white man in his eyes.

The evils connected with such a state of things is one of the few phases of the native question which has from time to time really aroused the attention of the white public. Letters appear in the press and demands are

made that the Government and Legislature should devise means whereby these men should be released for the work of men, the evils attendant on the employment of male nurses for young children be avoided, and women be obtained to do what is elsewhere the work of women. It is hardly likely that the change desired will be effected until a radical alteration is made in the household arrangements now prevalent, both in town and country. Fathers and kraal heads absolutely refuse to allow their girls to leave their homes to come and live in town, and incur all the temptations incident to the town life of a native girl. Occasionally they may be allowed to visit their male relations at work in the town, but always accompanied by a male relative. The guardians of the girls feel that, away from parental control and the discipline of home life, open to the attentions of all the wastrels who gravitate into town, the risks are far too great. And they are right. The ordinary householder provides a sleeping place for his natives away from the main building, often small, of poor construction and not too clean, a single room for all the employees. The scruples of the fathers and the hesitation of the conscientious European to employ girls unless these conditions are radically altered can be well understood. If girls are employed it would be necessary to provide a bedroom inside the house, and the employer must undertake responsibilities from which he is entirely free in the case of male servants. Some recreation during the day-time must be provided for the girls, and some arrangements for the satisfaction of their strong social instincts. At present the morals and amusements of the boys are a matter of small moment to the employer, and a much more stringent supervision would be necessary if he was replaced by girls.

This change would also mean, in many ways, another point of contact between the races, a closer impact about which I will have more to say later on. Meantime it is clear that the labour available for what is rightly considered the proper work of men is materially reduced

by the domestic arrangements familiar to South East Africa.

All told, there are some thousands of the finest of the Abantu race employed, and thus prevented from taking other employment, by the introduction and use of the ricksha in South East Africa. In Durban alone, there have been as many as 2600 under licence at one time, and this is a town of only some 30,000 white inhabitants, who are practically the only one using the ricksha. In the same town there is an up-to-date system of electric tram cars covering many miles of track and with cabs and motors plying for hire. The number of natives under licence at any one time does not represent all the labour absorbed by this employment ; there are probably at least as many resting at their kraals, who will return to this employment and who never engage in another calling. Engaged in this calling are some of the finest adult specimens of the natives,—apparently the tremendous exertion required develops the muscular system enormously, many of the pullers showing great muscular power. The work, though extremely arduous at times, is intermittent, and the puller can, at any time during day or night, retire from work should he so desire it. This liberty and the high wages which can at times be earned, together with the absence of control by an immediate master, makes it very attractive to natives who are capable of undertaking the exertion necessary. It is stated on good authority, that the exposure to all weathers (there are no ricksha boys' shelters), excessive perspiration followed possibly by a period of inactivity, sometimes in cold winds or pouring rain, bring on lung trouble, and that many suffer from it.

To what extent this is the case is not accurately known, but it seems undoubtedly an evil attendant on this employment, and there are others of a different kind. The ordinary natives working in town are supposed to be within doors at 9 p.m. when a bell is rung, and any wandering the streets after that hour are liable to arrest

unless they can show a pass for the evening signed by a responsible European. Not so the ricksha boy. Presumably because he is plying his calling for the convenience and comfort of the white man, he is not subject to the curfew regulations. He remains out till the early hours, taking home the theatre-goers, and picking up the stray ones who have been passing the night in other ways. Drunkenness is not more rife in the towns of South East Africa than elsewhere, but it is a humiliating sight to see a steady-faced, self-respecting native, with a white man huddled up in his jinricksha, trying to find out from the passer-by where he shall deliver his incoherent burden. Thus he is brought intimately into the life of the white man and woman at its lowest, and even when this is not the case, what he sees and learns is not likely to strengthen his respect for the white race. For our own comfort and convenience, to make our easy lives still easier, we are willing to admit the black man within our secret doors. When our comfort and convenience are not at stake he must not darken the kerb of the footway.

In Durban and other towns in Natal there is a system of licensing natives as day labourers, who are locally known as *togt* boys. They are usually men of mature age, recognized by the municipalities, and the licence which empowers them to remain in town and tout for work costs 5s. per month ; 2300 licences are, at the present time, taken out in Durban alone. At one time as many as 7200 were current. The corporation provide barracks for their accommodation, but all these natives do not take advantage of them. The balance of these day workers, in native fashion, find lodging with brothers, occupied as monthly servants, on the premises provided by the employers of the latter, who are also often mulcted in some of the food provided for their own servants, by these their friends and relatives. The day wages of the *togt* boys are supposed to be fixed by the municipal authorities, and any burgess can demand their services at the fixed rate, though in practice it is made the subject

of private bargain. The system, though convenient to those whose labour demands are intermittent, conduces to irregular habits of life and work. During a brisk spell those men make more than they would as regular servants, but often they are unemployed and roam the town wasting their time. Like ricksha-pulling, it suits the native temperament, but like that, it entails a considerable wastage of otherwise excellent material, which, trained and systematized, would be of much more value to the community and to themselves.

We can now perhaps begin to understand some of the facts which go to explain the anomalous condition of things in South East Africa, where, with a huge preponderating native population, labour is always in demand and it is seldom the demand is fully met.

Beyond any yet mentioned, however, is the great opportunity for employment on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand and in the town of Johannesburg. Hundreds of thousands of natives gathered from all parts of Africa here meet. From the Portuguese province of Mozambique come the larger number, but Natal, Zululand, Basutoland, the Transkei, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, the Waterberg, and Zoutpansberg districts of the Transvaal all contribute largely. Southern Rhodesia, far-away Barotseland and Nyassaland also supply their quota, and I suppose if diligent search was made, representatives of all the black races south of the Equator could be found in this welter of the tribes. I have spoken of the working of the breaking down process going on over South East Africa by reason of the contact of black and white, and the influence of the new conditions upon his character, manners and morals. Here in the gold-mining area, it is magnified and accelerated, it is fairly whirling the native out of the old and into the new. For the white man to walk the streets and live the life of Johannesburg, requires a steady head and moral purpose and a fibre that is not easily relaxed; for the native, fresh from his kraal, it means utter subversion of all he has thought, a

reversal of his ideas, a panorama of rapidly moving pictures he cannot understand or assimilate. Accustomed at home to meet only the family and neighbours, he here meets men of his own colour whose homes are thousands of miles apart. Zulu meets with Angoni, Fingo with Swazi, Basuto with Damara. The occasional white man he saw in the far-off location is represented here by a swarming crowd, engaged in all manner of perplexing activities and indulging in gratifications never before associated in his mind with the idea of a white man. The majority return to their kraals full of the new ideas, and form one of the chief factors in the change of life which is going on among the Abantu. Some never return, they fall victims to the charms of the kaleidoscopic life, and become men about town ; forgetting their homes, they form casual acquaintances, spend all their earnings in tailor-made clothes, women, and drink, and go to make a factor in the native question we have not heretofore experienced, but which will complicate it as such increase in numbers. Like the ricksha-boy, they are learning all the worst of the white man, we are exposing our secret sins, of which we are ashamed, to them, and yet expect their respect and the prestige that belongs to well-doing.

The ready way in which the native has met the tremendously increased demands upon his labours, since the deportation of the Chinese, is unexpected and wonderful, and it is likely that a still larger number will find work on the Witwatersrand. I say it is wonderful how he has responded, because, though the mineowners were entirely dependent on the native for unskilled labour, they have often, and in many ways, taken action, or refrained from action, that in either case meant retarding the flow of labour. They have asked the public to believe that every consideration has been given to the natives recruited for the mines, and every facility and reasonable amelioration provided, from the time they left their kraals until their return thither. It seems singular that this is not so.

Singular, because the gold industry being so dependent on native labour, and in the hands of such astute men of business, it seems almost impossible to think that every device or expedient necessary to secure the labour, and every possible consideration when it was got, should not have been put into operation. Yet the fact is that the natives were often treated as if the design of the employer was to make sure they would never return to work on the Randt. One essential factor in dealing with natives is that all promises made when the recruiter engaged them should be fulfilled to the letter. Yet natives were engaged at rates of pay they never received, bound by conditions that were never explained and which they did not understand, and their prejudices and susceptibilities ridden over rough-shod. Quite lately, investigation has been made by the authorities, and many ameliorations and reforms suggested of which some have been put into operation. With better conditions, if men who understand and are trusted by them are over them or available to them, and if their peculiarities are studied and have consideration, the high pay they receive will tempt more and more to the Randt. Every native who leaves the mines, fully satisfied with the treatment he has received, will act as a tout, and I believe if the above-mentioned reforms are made, and the subject studied as it deserves to be, the numbers of natives from the parts of South East Africa with which we are dealing who will seek employment on the Randt, will be very largely increased in the future.

It seems probable that there will, ere long, be a conflict between the gold industry and the landowners and employers of labour in other parts of South East Africa. The former assert that, under Union, they have an equal right with all others to employ the labour of the Union, and to use all lawful inducements by the employment of touts and agents to attract it to the Randt; the latter, that the natives living in their districts are their natural labourers, and the local requirements should be first sup-

plied. Very strongly do the landowners, who have been accustomed to abundant native labour at low wages, resent the incoming of the tout, who is so successful in persuading the local natives to leave for the Randt. In many cases the labour agent or tout gives large advances in cattle or coin, often making considerable profits on the advances. In cases, some loan of reasonable amount and at a fair rate of interest, is a benefit to the native and necessary in order to enable him to provide for his family during his absence. But the eagerness of the agent to secure his services has opened the eyes of the native to his value and importance, and large advances so easily secured have aroused his cupidity. Cases are frequent in which demoralized ones, after obtaining their cash, have disappeared, and others in which the same native gets loans from different agents for the same period of work. The result has been a serious lowering of the moral standard in some districts, and an increased tendency to the repudiation of contracts and obligations.

To the average white man in South East Africa, who feels that he could in his own person make more money, and that the development of the country would advance apace if he could get unlimited labour at his own price, the reasons for the present state of affairs are clear, and must, he thinks, be debited to the native. It is due to the fact that the black man is indolent and will not leave his idle home-life in sufficient numbers, and when he does leave only works for short spells. We have seen that there are other factors in the problem, for which not the native but the white man is responsible. We find there is an enormous waste of labour by reason of the traditions and methods of the past, by reason of the absence of any attempt to teach and utilize it to the best advantage, that much is employed in manner that is uneconomic, human labour being used instead of animals or mechanical appliances. Also, in order to suit the convenience of landowners, workers are prevented seeking the open market. A bar being placed by public opinion across the road

leading to the more skilled and highly paid employments, the stimulus to well-directed effort to rise does not operate. And the enormous and increasing demand upon the Randt, absorbing so many, is a factor to be remembered.

And above all, the fact that the native has his responsibilities to his home and relatives, and that here centre his congenial activities, must be borne in mind. In the last full census of Natal, under the head of "Occupations of the people," the following figures and remarks are given which apply to natives alone :—

| Occupations—Divisions. | | Persons. | Males. | Females. |
|---|---------------------|----------|---------|----------|
| "All classes | | 904,041 | 426,766 | 477,275 |
| Breadwinners, classes 1 to 7 | | 566,299 | 263,506 | 302,733 |
| Dependants 8 | | 337,742 | 163,200 | 174,542 |
| Nature of Service. | | Persons. | Males. | Females. |
| Personal and im- material . . . Distribution and transport . . . | { 1 Professional | 1,702 | 1,702 | — |
| | { 2 Domestic | 40,281 | 30,049 | 10,232 |
| | { 3 Commercial | 2,181 | 2,181 | — |
| | { 4 Transport | 7,810 | 7,810 | — |
| | 5 Industrial | 10,378 | 10,378 | — |
| | 6 Primary producers | 503,947 | 211,446 | 292,501 |
| | 7 Indefinite | — | — | — |
| | 8 Dependants | 337,742 | 163,200 | 174,542 |

"Thus it will be seen that the native male breadwinners show approximately 61·76 per cent of the native male population and the native female breadwinners 63·43 per cent of the native female population. These figures, which have been arrived at after a most careful computation, clearly indicate that the natives of this colony contribute very considerably to their own support and are largely identified with the agricultural pursuits of the country. When it is remembered that the natives of this colony produce annually approximately :—

700,000 muids of mealies,
6,000 ,, ,, round potatoes,
15,000 ,, ,, beans,
122,000 ,, ,, sweet potatoes,
427,000 ,, ,, Kaffir corn,

not to mention other products such as sugar, tobacco, pumpkins, etc., and that they own and are in possession of live stock representing approximately :—

343,159 horned cattle,
 21,851 horses,
 26,706 woolled sheep,
 105,144 other sheep,
 797,259 goats,
 50,461 pigs,
 612,709 poultry (various),

together with agricultural implements which show a very creditable return in point of numbers :—

1,700 wagons and carts,
 20,000 ploughs,
 1,000 harrows,
 100 mealie shellers and threshing machines,

and a number of other farming implements. Although the natives do not always labour in directions which may be regarded by some as the best in the interests of the colony, they cannot be looked upon as a lazy people."

Still and all, the whole responsibility must not be placed on the white man ; the average man is right, the native is congenitally indolent. His best friends would not claim that he loved work for work's sake or was a reliable or continuous labourer. He has a genius for passing the time pleasantly without worrying or suffering from ennui. He is splendid at a burst, but he cannot last ; he will and must have a rest at his kraal—no inducement after a certain time will keep him from it. But surely we cannot be surprised at this. Away from home with all its pleasures, living in squalid and unfamiliar surroundings, his associates strangers, often from distant tribes, his food, though plentiful, exceedingly monotonous and less agreeable than that of his home, with little or unfrequent opportunity to communicate with his folks, it is no wonder that he is constrained to return to his kraal after a few months' labour. The fact that he is away from his home when at work is one factor, that he has a distant home calling him is another, and the latter is

perhaps the principal operating cause for the casual nature of the labour given to European employers by the natives.

The white man's home is alongside his work, every evening he returns to wife and family ; but the black man must leave all that home is to him if he takes service with an employer. This largely explains why his labour is not continuous, and why the conditions of housing and accommodation provided by the employer are often so faulty. Many who recognize this fact feel that the labour question will never be on a satisfactory basis while the native is thus rendered independent by having a home to which he can retire, and where, if he cannot live in affluence, he is able to satisfy his simple wants without feeling the pinch of necessity which forces the white man to industry. It is probable that in time to come, as the expansion and development of the country progress, the labour requirements will become more insistent and the scarcity become more acutely felt. Aware that one chief cause of the independence of the native is due to areas being reserved in which he can live his own life, without the necessity, ever present outside these areas, of having to labour for wages, agitation may be directed to the breaking up of the locations on the plea that it is demanded by the exigencies of the situation, and, more plausibly, that it is in the real interests of the natives themselves that they should become steady workers instead of casual labourers, that only along this line lies their true development and permanent betterment. Already one hears the argument : the white man, forced by his needs, must work twelve months in the year. A paternal Government does not provide him with land which gives him the opportunity to idle for half his time ; and why should the native be placed in this position, retarding his own development and that of the country ? Let the locations be broken up.

For any such remedy I hold we should pay far too dearly. It may be that for a time labour would become

more plentiful and wages fall, but a revolution in the habits of a people, divorcing them from a life healthy and controlled, and transforming them into dwellers in uncongenial surroundings, would be to court disasters far greater than the inconvenience we now suffer. Already, the young people, the present generation, as I have pointed out, are being liberated from the salutary rules and customs which guarded the lives of their fathers, and the further emancipation, which would necessarily follow such a violent change of life and environment would be disastrous, and probably result in our towns and industrial centres being overrun by a horde of vagabonds, unrestrained by any ties or control excepting the law of the white man, not understood and unrecognized. Such a contact with ourselves as this would imply, though no one can predict its actual results, would in the main be maleficent. For our own ultimate good, as I shall try to show, the points of contact of the races are already too many and too close, and to multiply and intensify them for what is, at bottom, our economic gain, is a policy likely to be fraught with evil for both races. The easy way is the perilous way.

The home life of a race, built up by the best that is in it, should be a sacred trust; we may try to improve it by thoughtful care and by our wider experience, but our object must be to conserve and not destroy. The home life of the Abantu at its best is moral and healthy, bound to the wholesome land, and no sophistry or desire for gain should induce us to endorse a line of action that would ruthlessly break in upon it.

A system of taxation, by which remission shall be obtained in proportion to the time during which the native shall have worked for a European employer, has found many advocates. The idea is that an extremely heavy per capita tax shall be imposed on all able-bodied natives capable of work. A reduction is to be made for every month of labour for a European master, such reduction increasing proportionately with the months worked, until

when, say nine or ten have been put in, the impost is cancelled. The amount is to be so calculated that it will be practically impossible for the ordinary native to remain at home for the whole year, either unemployed, or solely working for his own benefit. At first sight such a scheme seems to promise a large increase of available labour, a direct inducement amounting to compulsion which could not be evaded. The first and most natural objection is the instinctive dislike we all have to any process that even indirectly savours of compulsion. If a man does not work, neither shall he eat, has been regarded as the only pressure that should be applied. That this does not operate with the same harshness in the case of the Abantu, does not abrogate it. His wants are few and simple, but work he must, either directly for himself or for an employer. The time and effort required may be small, but hunger will follow idleness and the penalty will be demanded.

Here I may remark on one phase of the question for which the black man, did he know all the circumstances in other and more civilized lands, might claim some credit. If through idleness, or circumstances over which he has no control, he suffers from lack of food, he does not expect relief from those who are more fortunate, from the rates, or from Government. He regards it as his own affair, he tightens his belt, grows thin, makes no complaint, and philosophically waits until times are better and then makes up for his lost opportunities. This simple philosophy carries him through.

But there are other considerations besides our natural dislike to forced labour. As a willing worker the native is not without his virtue, as an unwilling one he is hopeless. The dead weight with which he can counteract all attempts on the part of his employer to obtain satisfactory results, is marvellous—it is a natural gift. Forced out by the action of the white man to work for him, his pretended labour would be a constant source of aggravation. No land in which the industries were based on such a

class of labour could ever compete with countries in which it was intelligent and voluntary. Even the labour we have at present, unsatisfactory in many respects, would suffer deterioration. One shirker in a gang affects the standard of the whole, especially in a people so imitative as the Abantu; and I can well imagine even the present low economic value of his work being reduced all over the country by the inclusion of a number of men who only turned out under the compulsion of such a law.

Again, such a measure would imply that the only industry of any value to the State which could be given by the Abantu was that given through the medium of a European employer. This is untrue: any edict which presumed it would be unjust, and such a dictum, pronounced or implied, must be resisted to the uttermost. Their cultivation of the soil, as I have shown, is primitive and slovenly, their stock unthrifty, but they feed themselves, and grow something which goes to support the general population. A man may not be fully occupied at his kraal, but he has some work to do, and many duties to his family to fulfil. He may, by the manner in which he rules those dependent upon him and assists to maintain law and order, be exercising functions of value to the State. Is his conduct to be judged solely by an artificial standard which excludes any consideration of these saving graces? And, though the bulk of the natives do regard home as a place of rest and quiet retirement after their labours for the white man, many are industrious and spend their lives as small farmers, and judged from the economic side only are of more value to the community than if labouring for an employer. To show its appreciation of such praiseworthy effort the State would place on the backs of these men a burden calculated to break them.

Again, it is an axiom in native administration that no obligations should be imposed on these people which cannot be rigidly enforced. The effect of inability, through any cause, to make the law good, is to loosen all

authority. Once they feel they may with impunity defy or evade the law, the power to control dissolves into thin air. With a population such as ours, I cannot imagine any machinery which would effectively and impartially collect this impost and allow the rebates. The white population of South East Africa is certainly as scrupulous as most elsewhere, but this enactment would place it in the power of a European to remit the tax for any native. A mere statement that a black man had worked for him, a statement which would cost nothing and could not easily be checked, would be worth pounds to the latter. Is it likely that all white men would be above the temptation to make money so easily out of the necessities of the black man? Or, if not willing to commit fraud for gain, a feeling of sympathy for a hard case, a desire to help a native acquaintance, especially as it would cost nothing and it was only Government who would suffer, would appeal to some and thus cause collusion between black and white to evade the law.

No, there are no short cuts to increase the contribution of the native in this direction to the economic well-being of the body politic. If, instead of fixing our attention on our present labour difficulties, we look back a score or more years, we will surely acknowledge that the quantity, and even the quality, of the labour he provides is far in advance of what it then was. His wants have increased, and he is working in greater numbers and for longer spells of time to satisfy these wants. It is one of the sweeping generalizations, still current, but born of past observation, which says: A native only wants a certain amount of money—sufficient to buy cattle with which to procure wives, and that obtained, his working days are at an end. Give him higher wages and he gathers the necessary amount more speedily; give him less and he works the longer, but the amount required is the measure of his labour. That this is not true I know, and it is confirmed by others who have had practical experience regarding it. I have natives, monogamists and polygamists both, who

have grown old in my service, who have for many years earned far more than the current wages, and who still come to work as regularly as they did when boys. A friend of mine, who probably knows the South East African Abantu, and especially their labour conditions, better than any man in the country, corroborates this from his personal experience of natives working in and returning to Johannesburg. Of course there is a limit, but not the limit as usually understood. The fact is, that as they earn more, their wants, and especially the desires and claims of their families, increase also, and with the wants the necessity for continued labour.

The true remedies are gradually in operation all around us, even if only working slowly. Higher aptitude and experience are gradually accumulating which should be fostered and encouraged by education in its broadest meaning. As the individual native discovers that his acquirements mean increased pay and greater comfort, so will he make greater effort and in turn encourage others. Greater efficiency means more economy; one trained, industrious, hopeful and willing native will, by punctually working to a given end, do more than the unguided unregulated efforts of two or three of the old type. Many inefficients at low pay spells industrial ineptitude. The producing countries which compete successfully in the open markets of the world are the countries in which the workers are highly paid.

Experiments will have to be tried to teach and train. Some who know the natives and their character, notably Mr. George S. Armstrong and Colonel Friend Addison, both of Victoria County, Natal, publicly advocate the apprenticeship of native boys to those willing to teach them some form of work. They suggest that the fathers, who now deplore the independence of their young sons, would be glad to apprentice them to known and trusted Europeans, who would be responsible for the training and behaviour of the boys, and remit the larger part of their wages to the father or guardian. I do not think it is

suggested that the boy would approve ; he would probably prefer his present life, six months at home, then six months at work, sometimes as kitchen boy, then again working in a store or office, with its variety and opportunity for idling. It is urged though, and rightly, that a term of three or four years of steady service at the time of life when habits are formed, would be of incalculable value to the, perhaps at first, unwilling recipient. He would emerge, able to undertake the work of groom or cook, or even agricultural labourer, far better than the untrained. The scheme is well worth trying. My own opinion is that the native will apprentice himself to a skilled trade, carpentering or boot or harness making, but reckons any fool can become an agricultural labourer or work in a house, and will decline to submit to a term of training to work *qua* work. He is not character building, but would want to know whether at the end of his term he would be a skilled workman able to earn a higher wage.

Many men think that if they are unable to engage, at will, any number of labourers at the lowest rate of pay, industrial ruin stares us in the face. Labour may be very highly paid and yet be cheap indeed. But in South East Africa it has not hitherto been regarded as cheap unless paid at the very lowest rate. We have to revise our conceptions in this matter. To me, it seems probable that scarcity of native labour, with its concurrent advance in wages, will not spell ruin but probably the reverse. It may entail a time of stress, certainly a time of somewhat painful readjustment, but it will ultimately mean progress on a sounder basis. The present waste of labour and its congestion must give place to economy and organization. Better and more economical processes, the harnessing of power and machinery, will increase and cheapen production. Many are already reforming their ways, and reaping their reward, and if the stress of events forces others along the same lines, industrialism in this country will not suffer loss but gain.

To some this may sound a counsel of despair, or delay

that amounts to ruin. A reorganization and readjustment seems too formidable an undertaking even to be attempted. But it will be gradual; if we are on right lines a new groove will be worn, and events fit into the new place.

In this sub-problem of labour, as in the whole native question, no one remedy will, for all time, settle it. It is of the first importance that our policy be justifiable on the solid ground of right thinking and fair dealing; that being so we must wait and watch, and not so far commit ourselves that we cannot, on further light being given, readjust our methods.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT THE BLACK MAN THINKS.

I HAVE, so far in the inquiry, tried to give a picture of the Abantu in their homes, to convey some idea of their mental traits and capacity, their ideas and general attitude to the supernatural, and to depict the change that was inevitable through our impact on their environment. Also to make clear what the position to-day is, and what our attitude should be, on the sub-problems dealt with—tribalism, missions, education, land, and labour. These questions are all of great importance, and a proper understanding of the facts involved in them, and correct views in regard to them, are essential, if we are to frame a native policy based on just and sound premises, and applicable to the situation as we find it to-day in South East Africa.

And as I am going out into deep waters, to venture to outline the general principles by which we should be guided in our attitude to, relations with, and government of these people, it is as well that the subject should be thus sub-divided, and the great questions I have so far discussed be separated, and each considered on its merits. I trust the conclusions at which we have, so far, arrived will fit in and co-ordinate with the general policy I propose to outline in a later chapter.

In order to make the position as clear as may be, I will, in a few words, state what remains for me to discuss, and endeavour to establish, in the rest of this work.

I wish to show what the attitude of the native is to the white man and his government; how our methods of government have, up to this point, satisfied his desires and met his approval,—what the black man in the kraal and the black man in the mission station really want.

Having then examined the position of the native in regard to the large questions treated separately, and having tried to discover his general attitude to us and our Government, as this is an inquiry into the relations of black and white, it will be needful to consider what has been, so far, the effect on the white race of their very special and singular environment; how far it may have been for good or ill, and what the effect of a continuance along our present lines is likely to be upon the Europeans of South East Africa; and whether the policy we propose for our governance of the Abantu is likely to be for the real and lasting good, the highest development, of our own people. Also to examine the lines upon which the principal Governments concerned have hitherto dealt with and governed these people, and to inquire into various theories which have, from time to time, been propounded as a solution of the problem.

Then it will be needful to give my view of what I think should be the underlying and fundamental principles which should rule our relations with the Abantu from this time forward, and the general lines on which these principles should be translated into action and administration, working into the scheme the conclusions at which we have already arrived in regard to tribalism, missions, education, land, and labour, trying to fit them into a co-ordinate whole.

For the great mass of black humanity for which we are responsible in this country there is no regular and ordered method by which we may learn their feelings towards us. Those who are educated may be represented by the articles in the few native newspapers, though, even to a greater extent probably than with us, these writings are really an expression of opinion of one man, and must not always be accepted at their face value.

In the Transkeian territories what is thought by the educated on local matters (and even to some extent by the kraal natives) may be reflected in the discussions

held in the local and general councils. In Basutoland, pitsos or gatherings of the heads of the people are convened at regular intervals, and an opportunity given for an expression of opinion, at all events at the mouths of the chiefs.

But the ordinary native, especially in Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, and the Transvaal who forms the great mass of the people, has no recognized channel by which he can make his opinions and wants known. In the old days in Natal, for all ordinary intercourse, the administrators of native law and the magistrates were accessible, and the head of the Native Affairs Department, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, was well known to and trusted by all the people, and held not infrequent meetings among them and gave them a full and fair opportunity of talking over matters affecting their daily lives and bringing to the notice of Government, through him, any grievances they might have.

Gradually the European and Indian population increased, life became more complex, many new laws and regulations were passed and issued giving the magistrates much more bench and routine work, and preventing them from entering into the friendly and familiar intercourse with the natives as of old. And the office of administrator of native law, who took the place of the magistrate in more purely native districts, was abolished. Sir Theophilus Shepstone died, and the old order, the friendly patriarchal association, gradually became one of fixed and rigid rule.

The Secretary for Native Affairs who took his place was one who was brought up among the Abantu and knew their language and customs intimately, and could be visited by the chiefs at his office in Pietermaritzburg. But he was absent at times, notably when serving on the South African Native Commission, and then there was no one really known to and trusted by the natives whom they could approach, and to whom they could look for advice and guidance. The old policy of friendly and easy

access and intercourse, with its opportunities for explanation and reasoning, was modified, and rules were issued making it much more difficult for chiefs to visit the office in Pietermaritzburg.

All this happened during a period of time when profound changes were happening and the environment of the natives being rapidly altered,—essentially a period when they required guidance and advice.

Since Natal took over responsible government in 1893 no less than forty-eight new laws specially applicable to the native population were passed and many new regulations framed under these and previous laws. These laws and regulations pressed upon the daily life of the native on all sides, they imposed conditions and restrictions with which he had to comply before he could travel in the country, they put special disabilities upon him in respect of crime—cattle-stealing to wit, they increased the taxes he had to pay, they interfered with his social life. And, though every year saw new edicts passed which he was bound to obey, there was no provision by which the uneducated native could be told and made to clearly understand the obligations which a legislature—in which he was not represented—imposed upon him. In his ignorance he broke the law of which he had never heard, the police arrested him, and he was fined or imprisoned. I know a case in which new regulations were issued by Government in a "Gazette" which reached a certain small country town at 9 a.m. The European police opened it, read the regulations, and saw a native just outside infringing them and arrested him. At 10 a.m. the magistrate took his seat on the bench and the native prisoner was charged before him. "But this is no offence," said the magistrate. The police who prosecuted called his attention to the copy of the "Gazette" received an hour before, and the prisoner was punished for an offence of which the magistrate was not himself cognizant!

During all this time, when a new life was pressing

upon him on all sides, made more and more bewildering and complex by the white man, not only in the matter of laws, but as we have seen by new and irritating conditions in regard to land and labour, his opportunities of approach to those who should have been his fathers, advisers, protectors, were gradually lessened and made more stringent and difficult.

Then, during this period of unrest, rumours and talk of rumours began to fill the air. Mysterious orders came from sources which could only be guessed. All the white pigs and fowls must be killed by the orders of someone. The atmosphere was charged with surmise and expectation, the wind carried them all over the land. Gradually they crystallized, and the people looked to Zululand and the child of the Royal House as the author of the rumours and orders, as the one who was going to take the lead and release them from all their accumulated trouble.

The native, saturated with his tribal ideas, lacking individualism and initiative, must look to one having these qualities, and upon him he must lean. He cannot stand alone. In the time of Shepstone he looked to him as representing the Government, and felt he had a rock under which he could shelter. But Somtseu had gone, and none had effectively taken his place; the magistrate was busy and the clerks told the rumour-fogged inquirer the 'Nkosi could not attend to him; the road to Pietermaritzburg was closed unless he went through troublesome forms he did not understand. Yet the land was full of rumour, of changes and troubles; and to whom could he go in his bewilderment. Naturally, the white man being utterly inaccessible, he must go to the head of the Black House, the child of Cetywayo.

The flame was put in the dry grass at Byrne in the midlands of Natal, and spread from Natal by Mapumulo and the Tugela to Zululand. Many lost their lives before it was ended. Indeed it was fortunate it was no worse, and that the lurid light of racial war did not spread over the whole of South Africa.

The substitution of the impersonal force of law and regulation for the kindly personal rule of past days, was largely responsible for the rebellion of 1906. The native had lost confidence in the Government, and the Government was out of touch with the native,—so much so, that only a few days before it was deemed necessary to proclaim martial law, Government assured the colony there was not the slightest cause for anxiety, the natives were perfectly loyal and quiet. Although other causes operated, and it would be impossible to accurately estimate the driving force of each, I am certain that if our rule had been more fatherly and personal, if our officials had been men in whom our natives had full confidence, they would never have looked to the Black House as they did ; the white man's Government would still have been trusted, and they would have looked upon the authorities as their fathers and guides.

The Natal Native Commission made their investigation soon after the suppression of the rebellion, and in reference thereto in Clause 30 they say: "Although the discovery of the causes of the late rebellion is not within the scope of this inquiry, it may be permitted to say they were both material and psychological. It was primarily a revolt against restrictive conditions, assisted by a natural desire, common enough, as history shows, among subject races, to return to their own mode of tribal and family life. All their views of Government, its acts and omissions, benefits and defects, are largely coloured and shaped by the feudalistic traditions of their lives, which, by preventing the development of self-reliance and individual character, has taught them to regard their rulers as the only and natural sources of power, punishment, reward, and welfare. This explains why their attitude towards the Government has been one of alternating expectation and despair. The belief that the conditions they were finding intolerable were attributable in one way or other to Government action or inaction, explains why so little damage was done to private property during the late

disturbances. Looking upon Government as the maker and enforcer of laws, the imposer and collector of taxes, the fountain of all authority, with its officers everywhere, they wonder why their family system is allowed to crumble to pieces, and their daughters go astray; why they are compelled through the Courts to pay heavy rents and usurious interest; to submit to the overbearing conduct of the police and to laws they were ignorant of, and in the making of which they had no voice. Yet all the time we were flattering ourselves that by giving them peace and a pure judiciary we were doing our whole duty to and by them. We never stopped to think that our system had become too impersonal for the masses or to see the pathos in a simple people looking for fatherly advice and assistance from a purely judicial officer or longing to consult an exalted and virtually inaccessible Minister. The head of the native department has never been approachable by the multitude, while to the chief he was accessible only to a limited extent and in accordance with certain formalities. We live and move and think on different planes, and to make them contented and satisfied with our rule our methods must be less artificial and complicated and nearer the compass of their understanding."

It may almost be said that the central idea of the Report of the Natal Native Commission is the one I am now emphasizing. Thus in Clause 27: "The natives have practically been denied a voice in the management of their own affairs, and yet it may be asked if it is either reasonable or feasible that a people accustomed for ages to the patriarchal system, the leading feature of which is a paternal despotism, can be successfully ruled by a system wholly remote and based on loyalty to and reverence for an ideal or notion of an abstract character. We do not look for sympathy from our public officials, but only integrity and a sense of duty and responsibility in administering laws which we believe to be just and suited to our conditions and ideas of life. But with a people accustomed to and comprehending no other than personal rule,

it is essential that the magnetic and powerful influence of human condescension and sympathy should not be ignored as indispensable to their successful control. Putting law in the place of sympathy has had the natural effect of inhibiting and neutralizing their confidence."

Again in Clause 28: "Is it to be wondered at then, as the evidence abundantly shows, that the more intelligent and reflective among the natives so frequently drew comparisons between the consideration and treatment shown them in pre-responsible Government days, when the personal factor had sway, and what it is to-day, when this element has been practically eliminated altogether? A system of government that disregards natural laws, and leaves out of account the idiosyncrasy of the people, is doomed to failure."

A wise word in this connection is spoken in Clause 23. "Not only special measures of this nature (removal of surplus population to Zululand) but also the direct control of the natives in general, must be entrusted to highly skilled and carefully selected officers possessing all the attributes of born rulers, imbued with an ever-present sense of their responsibilities and with an intense desire for the welfare of the people."

In justice to the Natal Government and people it must be said, as I have previously remarked, that the recommendations of the Commission have, in part, been carried into effect. Some administrative reforms have been instituted and the foundations under statute for better guidance and personal rule have been laid.

I have referred to this lamentable episode in the history of our relations with the Abantu, as an illustration of the prime necessity in those responsible for the administration of native affairs to carefully study the past history, the character, and surroundings of the people, if they are to avoid the pitfalls that lie all around.

Naturally and intuitively we may, to some extent, interpret and realize what will be acceptable to our own people; but the closest study, by those who have made it

their life's work, is necessary in the case of a race on such a different plane, and by the circumstances of the case largely inarticulate,—inarticulate if he be not given, under authority, an opportunity to express himself; but quite capable of doing so effectively if such due opportunity be given. It should form an integral part of our policy to furnish such opportunities with due formalities and under control. Human nature, everywhere, chafes under the sense of wrongs which cannot be expressed, and this is essentially a characteristic of the native. Give him a patient hearing, the fullest opportunity of voicing his grievances, and it acts as a safety valve, and his load is, even by this, at once lightened. It gives opportunity for explanation, for reasoned argument, to which the native is peculiarly susceptible and in which he finds relief.

The prime necessity for any system of government being of the nature of personal rule need not again be emphasized. By the vast majority, the Government will be obeyed and respected if those who to them immediately represent the Government are of the class, and with the qualifications, so ably set forth in the Report of the Natal Commission. If we can secure good administration by capable and sympathetic officials, half our difficulties in the present will disappear. In both these most important matters, Basutoland and the Transkeian territories have a lesson for the Union Government and the rest of South Africa.

As I have shown, for a long time prior to the investigations of the Natal Native Commission, the Abantu of that province and Zululand had but meagre opportunities of directly addressing the representatives of Government with regard to their position in the land. The Commission visited the whole of the colony and Zululand, assembled the chiefs, headmen, and elders, and furnished the opportunity so long lacking. Those of our own race who heard the people speak at these meetings were convinced they opened their hearts freely,—they were always respectful, but spoke without reticence. I know no other

method of investigation so calculated to give an insight into their race feelings and desires, and most interesting and suggestive were these meetings. We cannot take all they said at its face value, we must often read between the lines, but a careful examination and analysis of their statements and grievances should give us an insight into the native point of view and enable us to draw conclusions of value in our inquiry.

The complaints of the ordinary kraal native make up a formidable list and are as follows:—

1. Absence of general protector of native interests and welfare.

2. Difficulty of access to the Secretary for Native Affairs.

3. Unsatisfactory promulgation of laws.

4. Harsh methods adopted by the police.

5. Arrest of members of a tribe by police, without the chief's knowledge.

6. Attendance of police at social gatherings.

7. Want of consideration and delays at magistrates' courts and post offices.

8. Want of consideration on the railways.

9. Want of power by chiefs to control tribes.

10. Loss of power by kraal heads to control subordinates.

11. Personal freedom allowed children, boys as well as girls, to the disregard of parents.

12. Facilities for women obtaining divorce.

13. Legal obstacles to recovering balance of lobolo.

14. Appearance of lawyers in their cases and excessive charges made by them.

15. Punishment by removal of chiefs without form of trial.

16. Beer-drinking regulations.

17. Multiplicity of passes and difficulty in procuring same.

18. Interference with the rights of way by fencing off old paths.

19. Forest regulations.
20. Game laws.
21. Registration of births and deaths.
22. Excessive rents charged by Europeans.
23. Too many laws, over-legislation and administration.
24. The poll tax and its effect on the young men in adding to their reluctance to assist their fathers.
25. The dog tax.
26. Compulsory labour on roads and public works.
27. Interference by Europeans of various classes with women and girls.
28. Usury.
29. Unfair terms made by Europeans when advancing money in return for labour.

It would be a mistake to take every one of these complaints too seriously. Some are comparatively trivial and merely indicate that the native, when he gets a chance, loves a grumble. Others give us an insight into the root of the matter and deserve the most serious consideration in our present inquiry, when we want all the light possible on the native outlook.

I do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion even on the more serious complaints, but would attempt an analysis and classification to endeavour to arrive at some definite conclusion, to try and discover some general principles underlying them.

1. The two first indicate the point upon which I have laid so much stress, a desire for a personal representative of Government always approachable ; personal and fatherly rule.

2. Many of them (3, 4, 5, 7, 8) indicate bad or inefficient administration, lack of consideration.

3. Some again (14, 22, 27, 28, 29) show the disabilities under which they feel they suffer by reason of their contact with the stronger race.

4. Most of the others (9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20) indicate their recognition of the manner in which we attempt or

permit the disintegration of their race life, and interfere with their customs, and their protest against it.

If some power could remove the native population away from contact with the white race, and allow them to live their own lives and manage their own affairs under the guidance and direction of able and sympathetic white administrators, most, if not all, of the grievances included in classes 2 and 3 of my classification as above would disappear. The underlying note of much of the native evidence was too much contact with Europeans, and too much interference with their life by Government and its agents, especially the police. Indeed if we could get at the hearts of the people, consciously, subconsciously or unconsciously, we would find the desire to be let alone. Why is the white man constantly disturbing us?

Clause 31 of the Report correctly conveys the impression stamped upon the minds of some of the Commissioners by the cumulative weight of the evidence and the manner in which it was given. It reads: "The evidence contains what to many will be deemed startling revelations of native feeling. A few natives went the length of saying that the days of Tyaka were to be preferred to the present, others regretted not knowing of a place where they could escape the white man's rule and live as they liked. These exceptional utterances should not be passed over in silence because spoken by a few, as there is reason to think they represent the thoughts of many."

To let them alone to live as they liked! Many of us would gladly do so were it possible. We do not wish their extinction, we like them and recognize their good and likeable qualities, and we believe that the race has a value to humanity and the world. Yet, if they could be spirited to a new land suited to their needs, and we remain alone to work out our own salvation, how simple the problem! We cannot do so; points of contact, nay of conflict, will remain whatever possible policy we choose to adopt. But if we find that in our best interest as well as in theirs, our lines of life should be, as far as may be,

parallel and not converging, and we should touch at as few points as possible, this desire to separate and live their own lives is an important factor to be remembered later.

Thus far the grievances and desires of the tribal natives, but we have to deal with others who have acquired, under our influence, other ideals and who have also complaints to make. The position and attitude of the educated native has been separately stated in the Report of the Commission, and their complaints may be thus summarized :—

1. Inadequate representation in Parliament.
2. Want of Government schools.
3. Absence of employment for their educated sons.
4. Children of exempted natives debarred from acquiring status of parents by descent.
5. Difficulties of acquiring exemption in spite of satisfying conditions of law.
6. Liability for service in time of war, without being enrolled and trained for the defence of the country in time of peace.
7. Inability to buy land.
8. Obligation to construct expensive buildings on land purchased, i.e. purchased out of Crown lands.
9. Rents on Mission reserves.
10. Want of attention at magistrates' courts.
11. Obligation to give royal salute (bayete) to magistrates, their clerks, and the police.
12. Being obliged to crouch in an abject way when paying taxes to the magistrate.
13. Obstacles in the way of holding religious services in locations.
14. Withholding of licences to native clergy to celebrate marriages.

Here is what appears to be quite another point of view. Apart from the grievances due to maladministration or lack of consideration, they denote a desire for further opportunity to develop their lives, opportunity and outlook similar to that accorded to the white man. Re-

presentation in Parliament, more and better education, the employment of their educated sons (the Civil Service was mentioned), facilities for exemption from native law, in order to become in all respects as the white man, is the burden of the more serious complaints.

The position of these people must excite our sympathy and may be briefly stated as follows: Actuated by the example of the white man and the teaching of the missionary, we have cut ourselves away from the bad old life, embraced the doctrines of Christianity, and attempted to live a higher and more enlightened life. For many of us it has meant effort and sacrifice which the white man is not called upon to make and face. Our feet on the upward path, we are now told, in effect always, and sometimes in words, that further advance is barred to us, we are trespassing on the exclusive domain of the white man. A colour line is drawn, across which we must not pass. We are told of the value of education, we see expensive schools built for the European, but no Government schools of any kind are provided for us. If, after much stress and toil and struggle with the unfamiliar, our sons are able to pass an examination for entrance to the service of the State, no such employment is found for them, it is the prerogative of the European. Many of us are fitted by education and character to exercise the franchise and assist to choose our representatives in Parliament, but no black man can have this privilege. We see white men, uneducated, drunken, debased, whose vote may be bought by a mug of beer, exercising this most valued right, to us denied. Hopeless is the attempt to advance farther; a wall unclimbable is placed across the path. We claim that every man should be judged by his character, ability, and acquirements, and not merely by the colour of his skin. Make the barrier as high and difficult as you like, but leave us some hope that by continuous effort and sacrifice we may surmount it and continue to advance along the same road as that the white man treads.

The white man feels all this, acknowledges the truth, and yet, sympathetic, altruistic, Christian, he bars the way. Instinctively, if not consciously, he knows that along this path, and not far ahead, lies race conflict. He admits the mental and moral superiority of some black men to many whites, but feels in his heart of hearts that they are fundamentally different, that they can never amalgamate, that every additional point of contact brings nearer the inevitable contest, and without attempting to find an alternative, he places insurmountable barriers in the way. Cruel to the black man and harmful to the white is the present position; fraught with evil to the white man, for he is taking up a position he cannot justify, he is doing violence to his conscience, he is evading instead of facing a difficult question.

Gradually the black man, educated, clean, and well-behaved, impinges on the area hitherto held by the white. At Church Synods and the Unions of the Free Churches, black and white meet nominally as equals in all respects, workers in the same field, the disciples of one Master. Logically, given the premises, any other attitude is impossible—but does the white in his heart of hearts so regard him? Some few of those strong in the faith may do so to the last demand, and accept without inner reservation the whole doctrine. But—let us be honest, nothing is to be gained by shirking—can this be said of the majority? Consciously or subconsciously, they feel with the average man that race cannot be eliminated, that behind the nominal equality of the individual lies the inequality of race. It is not a question of colour, it lies deeper; and whether we be regarded as simply varieties of the same species or our differences are accounted specific or generic matters little, they lie at the root of our being. I believe that some of these white men, Christian and conscientious, who shrink from giving the full recognition demanded by the premises, feel that this impact which promises to become still closer is not for the good of either people. Their adherence to the faith, their desire to do

justly, is at war with their race consciousness and their instinct of race preservation.

For the first time in the history of South Africa a full-blooded member of the Abantu race has been elected to the Legislature. Under the South Africa Act, the Act which established Union, no person who is not of European descent (which is not defined) can become a member of the Union Parliament. No such bar is specifically made with regard to the Provincial Councils, and Mr. Rubesana is now the member for Tembuland, a constituency with both white and black voters on the roll. By education, character, and ability he is by common repute admitted to be quite as eligible as many representatives of European descent.

When in Natal as a delegate to the Congregational Union of South Africa, Mr. Rubesana was interviewed by a local paper, and after giving some interesting particulars about his constituency and election, stated that what the educated natives wanted was contained in the phrase, equality of opportunity, presumably in all fields—political, educational, industrial, commercial. The under note of many educated Natal natives in giving evidence before the Commission was the same; make no distinctions in law or practice between us, give us the same opportunities as you have. When questioned more particularly, especially with reference to the present restriction in regard to obtaining liquor, which is applicable to all natives, they said in effect: We realize your good intentions in debarring all from obtaining liquor, and it has been beneficial, but we want freedom to use our own judgment in this and all other matters; if we transgress we pay the penalty, but we claim the right to take or abstain as may seem to us best.

Equality of opportunity.

The time has now perhaps arrived when, in the course of our inquiry, we must face this position, for what it implies goes to the root of the matter. If we grant the argument, only one path lies before us, which leads to the

convergence of the races, a possible blending in blood at the extremes, strongly awakened suspicious race consciousness in the masses, race hostility inevitable. The demand comes from the weaker : do they realize all that is contained therein ?

Up till the present, notwithstanding all the shortcomings and lapses of the white race, all the selfish exploitation of the black man by individuals, there has been a strong undercurrent of sympathy, reflected from time to time in the policy of Governments, and oftener in the attitude of Europeans, to their native dependants. The natives have been regarded as children unable to act for and fully protect themselves, our wards, for whom we must act and think for their good, though sometimes against their inclinations and our material interests. Granted the responsibility has been often evaded, that we have been so intent on our own interests as to neglect theirs, still the nominal recognition of this position has stood for much, and under pressure, or a more sensitive public conscience, may stand for much more in the future.

But if the average man, in whom this altruistic feeling is never very strong, realizes that all he is doing for the native is simply to prepare and equip him to fight him or his children in all the fields of activity hitherto his own, is it likely he will continue to sympathize and assist him in his endeavours ?

He will realize that behind the few in the van who are asking to be placed on an equality with him—an equality which means equality in a conflict for existence on the only plane on which he chooses to exist, are millions more coming forward, a huge black wave, which will mean, as between the races, the greatest inequality. The feeling which we indicated as being present in the European, when we spoke on the subject of industrial education, is the same, though there evidenced in a narrower sphere, the instinct or feeling for the preservation, there of the individual or group, here of the race.

Without having, as yet, brought the argument to a

focus, I have in many places indicated, sufficiently clearly, that I think points of contact between the races mean, if not to-day in time to come, points of difference or conflict, and this has been particularly shown when treating of land, labour, and education. I cannot doubt but that, if we accept the position laid down by the educated natives whose ambitions I have outlined, the same conflict, on a scale commensurate with all our life activities, will come to pass.

Do those who ask to be placed in this position realize all that it implies? I hardly think so, and it is not likely that they should be able to do so. Their outlook is much too circumscribed, their experience too limited and recent, their environment too restricted, to enable them to justly judge the present position and forecast the future. As individuals, they have achieved much of which they are rightly proud; they are far in advance of the mass of their people, they feel that in some respects some of them have overtaken the laggards of the higher race; but can they realize that this is not a question of individuals but one of race?

They see the white man in possession of all the desirable things of this life; he has power to make laws which they must obey, he possesses the land, he makes money, and can apparently easily obtain all the comforts and luxuries of existence. These good things are held in different degrees by the whites, some are comparatively poor, others rich; but this fact does not clearly show them that under it all is struggle, stress, conflict, a real struggle for existence which, while it means ample reward to the victor, spells defeat to the weaker.

He only asks equality of opportunity.

I do not think he grasps the fact that in the past there has been a fund of altruism on which the black man from time to time could draw, but which under the conditions he desires might not be available. The white man, as guardian and protector, has not in the past done his full duty. Allowed; but he has given such education as you

have, built churches and schools, and this without fee or reward. His Government has laid off desirable lands for your exclusive benefit on which no white man may live. Against his own financial interest, he has prevented the baser of his race from exploiting you by selling intoxicants, he has prevented white men from making gain by charging you exorbitant rates of interest, in times of famine he has fed you. Equality of opportunity means the attenuation or disappearance of any such desires on the part of the white man.

The white man, through centuries of such struggle, and the elimination of the unfit, has acquired an aptitude for self-government, and a great social efficiency, that augurs ill for the race which enters into equal and unhandicapped competition with him. You are the élite of your race, but what of the millions not yet even superficially fit; what of them if the white man, foreseeing the end if competition is to take the place of guardianship, forswears any further guidance and assistance and applies the conditions of equal competition to all?

Knowing how difficult it is to gauge the intricacies of sociological questions in countries under different conditions, at a distance, and unknown from personal experience, I have used some restraint and have not often hitherto pressed the argument from analogy. But the salient features of the position in the Southern States of the North American Union have been so frequently recited by many and competent observers that I may venture to call attention to it. Nominal equality of opportunity has been the policy of that country, and as far as may be has been the law of the land since the sixties of last century. The disparity in numbers, education, wealth, political experience between the races is far less there than in South Africa. The language spoken by both is the same. The proportion of those of pure African lineage is much smaller than in South East Africa; a larger number can claim blood relationship with both races. Some forty or fifty years have elapsed since the oppor-

tunity came to the black and coloured man, and to-day the races stand apart as regards all the vital issues of life in two armed camps ; the tension, dislike, aye hatred, probably greater than at any previous time in their history, and apparently growing from more to more. One cannot read the pathetic writings of some of the Southern white men on the condition and future of their race without serious misgiving, without feeling how the ever-festering open sore of racialism is draining away their best and highest ; nor those of the coloured men without feeling the deepest sympathy for the anomalous and degrading position in which their race is placed and held. Is any sacrifice too great, any effort too arduous, which will prevent us from drifting into such a position as this ?

Whether it is possible to formulate a policy which will give to the Abantu a wider outlook, a chance of their full race development, with full and free opportunity for the white man, and at the same time minimize or eliminate the dangers to both from race contact and conflict, seems to me to be the problem. It can certainly not ensue by following the lines of equality of opportunity as understood by those from whom we have been quoting. At this point let me repeat the problem of the races as it lies before us.

In a previous chapter I put it thus : To so act in our relations with the natives, and so guide them, that they may have all reasonable opportunity for developing their race life along the best lines, taking account of their physical, mental, and moral improvement ; not necessarily following the line of evolution of the white man, but if possible the line their race genius suggests. And that we, while so acting, shall also have an opportunity of development, and be not subject as a race to deteriorating tendencies which may be present in our race environment.

I also put it in the form of a question.

Is it possible for a white race, whose race aspiration is the utmost economic development of the country in which they live, every effective member of which is filled with

restless energy to personally advance and acquire, to live with a black one, to whom its efforts and aspirations do not appeal, and yet so adjust the life of each that both shall be content, and the black have all reasonable opportunities for such development as is possible to them?

Divorced in some part from the spirit of his race, his education the gift of the white man, all his new ideas borrowed from the European teacher and missionary, it is not surprising that for the educated native the only theory of further advancement was along the lines taken by the race to which his teacher belonged. The European missionary had seen that the poor, the illiterate, the backward of his own people had gradually obtained from the privileged classes a fuller and fuller recognition of their claims. From generation to generation the privileges of the one had been curtailed and the disabilities of the other removed. Political power, once exclusively in the hands of the few, became the right of all. Education, which in past times was denied to all who could not purchase it, became compulsory and free. The whole trend of modern civilization was to give to all equality of opportunity in the battle of life. It is possible they did not fully realize that the application of this theory meant and means the intensifying of the struggle for existence among those who accepted the doctrine, but it was perfectly natural that the better conditions and greater liberty which had been granted to the poor and illiterate of Western Europe and America should in turn be the objective and privilege of their disciples in this country. And it is wonderful that their scholars should desire and seek for the only boon they could realize as likely to further their progress; that this was the only path of advancement they could see?

But the race instincts, though lying deep and not distinctly articulate, as is the surface teaching of the white man, may be a safer guide to us. We have seen that, when analysed, the complaints of the tribal natives might, in large part, be summarized as a desire to be let alone, to live their own life in their own way. We have seen that a section of the educated natives desired to free

themselves in the domain of religion, and to a certain undefined extent politically, from the control and tutelage of the white man; they too desired to be let alone, to manage their own religious life in their own way.

In the searching and thoughtful address delivered by Lord Selborne before the congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope on February 7th, 1909, he says, referring to Basutoland: "Now I have a special responsibility for Basutoland, and I have taken some trouble to know something about the country. I have been into Basutoland on several separate occasions and I have crossed it from end to end. I know personally all the principal chiefs, and I have had many conversations with them both privately and at public pitsos. I say deliberately that the King has no more loyal subjects than the Basuto; that, if the Basuto are justly and wisely governed, they will cause no serious trouble, *and that the one thing they most desire is to be left alone.*"

That the educated natives should express themselves as wishful to obtain equality of opportunity is natural, it was natural to their teachers, they could show them no other path and they repeated what they had been taught. The race expression, the wish to live their own life in their own way, lies, I think, deeper. Hitherto the white man and his Government have discountenanced this aspiration; they felt it was but the first step to sedition and revolt. But may it not be a guiding light to us in formulating a policy which shall give the opportunities we desire for both races, and yet minimize the dangers to both which will indubitably result from increasing the points of contact?

Guided and controlled it must be, but it may be of the utmost service in the future.

Before going on to endeavour to thread all the conclusions at which we have so far arrived on one string, to co-ordinate them in a policy for the future, I must in the next chapter try to indicate the effect the black man has had in the past on the white race, and the probable result of such and his special environment in the future.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EFFECT ON THE WHITE MAN.

Is it possible for a race, all the members of which are freed from the obligation to earn their bread by menial or manual labour by the sweat of their brow, to retain for any length of time their full virility? Can the development of a race reach its highest, and the life of a people be truly successful which is based on the servile labour of another race? This is the position of the white man in South East Africa, and this is the question he must answer. It is basic and fundamental, and though it may be evaded at present, the Fates will put it and demand an answer in the future.

The only work habitually undertaken by the white man in this country, which can, even in a limited sense, be called muscle-forming and developing, is the skilled work of the various artisans. Even here the black man's force is requisitioned every time anything of a laborious nature is to be done, the white man only handles his tools in the finer skilled work which entails but little physical strain. The class which in European countries, the other British Colonies and the United States, must live hard and work hard, whose livelihood depends on labour which is an imperative discipline, which tightens the fibres, and hardens the muscles, does not exist in South East Africa. Men of this class do come to the country, often unaware of the special conditions here, quite prepared to toil in the way they have been accustomed to do all their lives, but they never do so in South East Africa. Even if they desired so to do, the place and opportunity is not open to them, the custom of

the country forbids it, and although they may take off their coats and roll up their shirt sleeves, it is simply force of habit, not to labour as before, but to supervise the black man. Their hard hands become soft, their muscles flaccid, as compared with their peers in the lands they have left. It matters not whence they came, Norway, Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, Canada, New Zealand : we have had them all and all fall under the spell.

A man owning his own land may occasionally work as hard for a time at manual toil as he did elsewhere, but even if his energy does not diminish, he turns it into another channel. He realizes that he can employ his time to better financial advantage, and uses the physical force of the native, which is so abundant and low-priced, and saves his own. He organizes and supervises, and if his energy does not dissolve away under these easier conditions, becomes rich. For the majority, the force they were constrained to put into manual toil in other and more austere lands does not become transformed into another and higher form of energy ; the easier conditions simply mean a softer life, free from the stress of physical demands, and allowing leisure for relaxation and pleasure. This virile class, the white manual labourers, either absent or emasculated with us, forms the solid foundation of society in the older countries and all-white colonies I have mentioned, where the black man is not.

Few who are not students of the science of eugenics, or who are not specially interested in the question of race development, are aware how society tends to die out at its apex, and must be constantly renewed from its base. The titled families of Great Britain are being always strengthened and revitalized by new blood from below, and even then one is astonished to find how few can trace back in the same line for any great length of time. Many illustrations are given ; it is stated that only five, out of five hundred existing noble families of Britain, were existent in the sixteenth century. And so with the

upper and middle classes ; there is a recruitment from the ranks always in progress. The ablest and most efficient of those who are born to toil, work up and replace those who have not had their advantages, the advantages of necessary strenuous work which fits them for the struggle. A numerous class of men and women, who by the conditions of their life are kept hard and fit, braced by the open air, with steady nerves and strong muscles, such as were the best of the agricultural labourers and yeomen of England, the crofters of Scotland, and the Irish peasantry, is the soundest basis of society. Until the city and industrial era began, all the countries of Western Europe, the United States, and the British colonies had such a class upon which to draw. How they will now fare with this wholesome element attenuated almost to disappearance, and their places taken by city dwellers, undersized, anæmic, deficient in vitality and with highly strung nerves, time will show. In the constant discussions on the question of physical deterioration one can estimate the misgivings which are moving the thoughtful in older lands. There the proletariat, who are the most prolific portion of the people, live under conditions which are tragic, the essentials of a healthy life, fresh air, good food, exercise or toil to harden and strengthen, are all absent, and taken in conjunction with the diminishing birth-rate in the more socially effective classes, and the reduction in number of the vigorous open-air section from whom they can recruit their numbers, is serious indeed and may well make the patriot pause.

In South East Africa we have no large cities and no slums. The easy conditions of life include abundance of fresh air (if people like to take it), plentiful food (often too much and not simple enough), leisure for recreation and rest, including a keen interest in sport, but in the presence of the black man no such healthful toil as built up the frames and made men of the fathers of many of the present colonials. At the moment I am only speaking of the tendency of the easy conditions towards a

certain amount of physical deterioration in the future, and what is perhaps of deeper-reaching effect, the absence of a class at the basis of society, strengthened by healthy toil, which serves or did serve elsewhere as a secure physical foundation, and is in its best and most effective members drawn upon by the higher strata of society.

The original settlers of British descent in South East Africa, the 1820 settlers of the Cape Colony border, the 1850 immigrants into Natal, were an exceedingly fine stamp of men and women. The former include those who have made their mark in the history of the country, in science and exploration, as soldiers, as statesmen, as developers of the land. The latter were mostly Scotch and Yorkshire yeomen or agricultural labourers of the better class, but including others drawn from all classes of society, restless energetic spirits, who wanted more room and scope than the home-land could give. It is doubtful whether men of such virility, force of character, resourcefulness, originality, enterprise, could be got in large numbers from the old land in these days. We are getting immigrants, but not as a rule such as will make up to us for the loss we are sustaining by the nature of our environment; usually town dwellers who come out to take up commercial appointments, men and women with the virtues of the best city life, punctual, energetic and intelligent in their own somewhat narrow sphere, but not able to supply what South Africa is likely to lack, the physical vigour engendered by laborious open-air toil, and I may say the resourcefulness begot of a country life.

Our environment is such, the demands made upon our race so heavy and onerous, our responsibilities here are so great, that if we face and undertake them the best is called for. We have to govern an overwhelmingly numerous, prolific, vigorous people, and we cannot afford to disregard any signs that would seem to indicate a possible shortcoming in the highest that is attainable to us, physical, mental, moral.

And physical deficiency, due to lack of stress and strain, implies that the easy conditions which soften and prevent fitness and development will also act on other than the physical frame. Daily and in scores of ways the presence of the native, who seldom complains, who will undertake any work demanding muscular exertion which the white man asks, eases life for the latter ; where he is absent the white man must think, arrange, forecast, must use his faculties, in short, in a way that is not forced upon him when the native is ever at call. Those who have once experienced the ease which his presence gives, when in other scenes bewail his absence. I know men who, depressed by our problems here, have left Natal to seek a better land, and who have returned and been honest enough to say that they found life too hard without the black man. But the question I am asking now is : What is the effect of his presence on the morale of our race, and what of the future ? I cannot but think that what these men appreciated here and found lacking elsewhere, will have a tendency among many to modify and probably lessen their race efficiency, not only physically, but in general character.

An illustration. I remember the bush picnic in New Zealand. Men, women, and children gather, and are to go by wagon and on horseback to a beautiful forest recess. The horses are caught in the paddocks by white men, groomed by white men, harnessed and driven by white men. The luncheon baskets are packed by white women and carried by them and the children. Those who ride on horseback round up and saddle their own horses, and, arriving at the scene of the picnic, off-saddle and hobble them. Wood is gathered, water found and carried, fires lit and cooking done by the holiday-makers themselves, and when all is finished dishes washed and everything cleared, cleaned, and packed by those who had enjoyed the outing. Compare a similar occasion in South East Africa. With the exception of perhaps actually handling the food the native is ubiquitous. He catches the horses,

harnesses them, probably drives the carriages. He certainly gathers all the wood, carries the water, lights the fire, and as certainly does all the washing up, and everything is carried by him.

And all through life it is the same, the essential. Kaffir makes life easy for the white man. It is impossible to conceive that such a difference in life will not have deep-seated results in character formation. The absence of the disciplinary value of self-help, the ability to transfer the unpleasant to another, the lack of a demand upon our resource, will certainly have their effect, especially on the young; some of us think we can already see it evidenced before our very eyes.

In other ways, besides the direct one of easing the white man by undertaking all the unpleasant labour, does the presence of the black man make life less arduous for him. The effects permeate the life of the community in an intimate fashion not realized by the unthinking, but apparent to the observer of social phenomena. Men, who otherwise would be earning the living wage by heavy work, obtain highly paid appointments as compound managers, interpreters, touts for labour. Others as cattle buyers, at an advantage owing to their knowledge of political events and the state of the markets, have opportunities of making money which would not occur if the native was not in the land. The native as rent-payer provides an income for the collecting from lands, which otherwise would demand the expenditure of capital and labour before they gave any return. A large profit on the outgoings has been made by many in the past, by advancing money at high rates of interest. Kaffir store-keeping and trading in mealies, hides, and produce, though not now the monopoly of the European, has been a comparatively non-laborious way of making a living. None of these are illegal, most cannot be condemned, by many the native derives some benefit, but such occupations and opportunities, demanding less effort than is necessary in countries in which every man must compete with

those of similar calibre to himself, cannot be disregarded in forming an estimate of the effect of the special environment of the white man in this country.

I love a concrete case, and I think I can show one in the effect of our environment on the course of an industry common to ourselves and many lands with which we so often compare ourselves. Horned cattle do well in South East Africa, in normal times they increase rapidly, are healthy, and form the mainstay of the majority of European farmers. This is as it is in Australia, New Zealand, even Canada. But we have to note a difference. In those colonies cattle are reared and kept for their value as milk or beef producers, and every effort is used to improve the strain in the direction of earlier maturity and greater yield. Experiments by scientific men are being constantly made and directed to produce better economic results. This means that in these countries there is a steady pull towards improvement, which draws into its current every man engaged in this industry. Observe the difference here. I was staying on the farm of a well-known cattle breeder in the midlands of South East Africa, and went through the kraal with him when the milch cows were up in the evening. The usual performance was going on. Half a dozen naked Kaffirs were milking in various corners of the muddy kraal, and in each case the cow was attended by her calf, without which she refused to part with her milk. The amount taken by the calf, or the proportion milked into the pail, was all guess work and at the option of the native, and whether the calf at the finish was hungry or gorged depended upon the humour of the milkman, probably whether he was in a hurry to go to a dance or intended to stay at home that evening. The cattle were, to the eye of a cattleman familiar with the herds of Britain or New Zealand, of very indifferent quality, small in frame, evidently taking long to mature, and poor milkers, but also evidently hardy and suited to the life they were forced to live. On the occasion in question, I did not

make any complimentary remarks on the cattle, and my friend being in a communicative mood spoke in substance as follows: "You don't think much of the quality of my stock I can see, and I can't expect it; but the fact is, the Kaffir dictates the kind of beast we rear in this country. I milk a few cows and make a little butter as a bye-product, but I rear cattle to sell to the Kaffirs, and the kind they want is the kind I grow. Not only will they not give an extra ten shillings for a grade shorthorn as against a common Zulu, but they will give but little more for a good milker as compared with an indifferent one. During the thirty years I have occupied this farm, and annually sold scores of cattle to natives, only once has a native made a point of getting a good milker. All he looks for is a beast that will rear all her calves, and make the herd increase quickly. So why should I go in for improvement? To make butter and cheese entails expense and labour, to breed common cattle to supply native demand is easy and unlaborious. Besides, it has contingent advantages, it brings the Kaffirs round, and I can get cheap labour, or make a little by lending money, or trade in other things, all of which brings grist to the mill." So said my friend, who was honest enough to express what is in the minds of many. They profess to desire improvement, but the black man sets the pace, and the pace he sets is easy and they follow it. There are men engaged in this calling, who try to emulate the breeders of other and all-white countries, who spend money and time and intelligence in the improvement of their stock. But my friend is a familiar type, and this industry, with its dependence on the black man, is repeated with more or less emphasis in many others.

Race efficiency is ultimately the result of the struggle for existence, the more equal the contestants, the keener the conflict, the greater will be that efficiency.

Our people in the past centuries have had to face and provide against a rigorous climate, compete on equal terms with those of similar capacity, have been involved

in life and death struggles with rivals of equal virility. In individual life it has been the same, each man incessantly striving for a larger share of what seemed to him the best in life ; and the result has been that the race has attained a superiority which has given us the advantage over all others with whom we have come into rivalry. This superiority has stood us in good stead hitherto in the sub-continent, but we are faced by overwhelming numbers of a race who, though much our inferiors in social efficiency, constitute a problem by their very numbers, fecundity, and persistence, which, if it is to be successfully dealt with, will make heavy calls upon our very best.

And yet—and yet—it almost seems as if, whilst this demand is insistent, forces are at work, some of which I have outlined, which are tending to soften our fibre, and to attenuate those wholesome influences to which we owe so much in the past. It seems to be true that though the black man in his weakness leans upon us, we too are taking advantage of his presence to lean upon him, when, if we would retain what has been gained by our race in the past, we should be as self-reliant as our fathers were.

The various climates of South East Africa, and their effects on the European constitution and temperament, have been dealt with. It has been shown that according to altitude and distance from the coast they were likely to affect the original type, the general tendency being to de-energize and devitalize. I do not regard climatic conditions as being of the same importance, as a factor in the well-being of the race in the future, as the ethnic factor. As both, however, have the same trend and influence, to make existence easier and softer, the presence and effect of both must be remembered in forming a judgment on this important question.

An organization has been formed in the Transvaal with the object of encouraging white labour. The idea, as I understand it, is to endeavour to substitute in many

spheres of manual labour, including mining, the employment of Europeans for natives, gradually substituting the latter by the former. The poorer South Africans of European descent are to be thus employed, and immigration of whites of a class likely to undertake such work is to be encouraged. The current prejudice which considers such labour as derogatory to the white man is to be combated, and the gospel of the dignity of labour is to be preached.

Probably the final reason for this movement, in the minds at all events of the originators, is not the one which appears on the surface, and which will be a sufficient justification to some, viz. that employment must be found for many now suffering from lack of work. I would rather give them credit for looking deeper, and realizing that the immediate and more obvious economic justification for their organization and action is not the most vital and urgent one. I think they must be conscious of the truth which I have been urging, that if our race is to retain its efficiency it cannot be on a basis of servile labour. We must, not for immediate economic reasons only, but for the very life of our race, preserve some of the conditions, harsh and severe though they be, which helped to build up our character and fibre in the past. If I am right and this is so, then I am with them in the object at which they aim.

But at the same time I feel that they will have to probe deeper into the whole question of the relations of black and white if they are to achieve even partial success. Under present conditions, white intermingled with black in almost every sphere of life, with these inter-relations becoming more complex year by year, the whole based on the idea that the black man must serve, with the erring prejudice and practice of at least two centuries behind us, is it possible, without some conscious and basic rearrangement, to prevail on the white man to take a position he must regard, at present, as derogatory, and unworthy of his race? Under present stress, he may for

a time reluctantly respond, but, at least as far as South Africans are concerned, the response would only be partial and intermittent. But if we adopt a policy which would

- have for its definite object a separation of the races as far as was possible, to reduce instead of increasing the points of contact, and consciously and with the force of law, gradually it may be, but without cessation, work towards that end, it might be possible to succeed. Without a definite policy on the larger issues of the future position of black and white in South Africa I anticipate but a small measure of success, at best with indigent South Africans.

And unless we can frame a just and workable theory in place of the present haphazard method of dealing with

- the relations of black and white, I would oppose the immigration of Europeans to undertake manual labour. It may be politic for the United States and Canada to encourage immigration of all the races of Europe, not only Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and Scandinavian, but Poles, Russians, Italians, Galicians and the Jews from all these countries; but our conditions are so different that what
- is of advantage to them may well spell disaster to us.
- Whether we get quantity or not, quality we must have.

It is notorious that many European races have not

- that aversion to miscegenation with an inferior race which is so striking a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic, the Teutonic, and Scandinavian races. To our utmost power we must carry out the doctrine that white
- must keep white and black must keep black. The race feeling, position in life, social habits of many who might be introduced as labourers, would drag this salutary and race-saving doctrine in the dust, and ultimately such a condition of affairs would supervene as would make our present problem seem simple indeed in comparison. Even if we finally frame, and carry into practical working, a policy which, among other things, will minimize overlapping, admixture, and contact; any introduction of large numbers of immigrants, unless of such a race and

class as would be likely to live up to our ideals, must be discouraged. Economic development may have to stand down if the larger issues are threatened.

Let us now examine, as far as may be possible in such a complex and difficult investigation, the character of those of European descent living in the country, and endeavour to trace the effect of their peculiar environment thereon so far as it has at present gone.

The Dutch-speaking population began their life in South Africa with one advantage which must not be overlooked. If the theory that an admixture of blood derived from the crossing of closely related groups of people, results in offspring with the best qualities of both parents, is true, then they have been peculiarly fortunate. I cannot call to mind any modern people in whom so many virile sub-races meet and mingle. The basis was the tenacious Netherlander; and probably those who came to South Africa, though undoubtedly including some who left their country for their country's good, counted many of the best of that adventurous time. No possible element was more likely to make up their deficiencies, and add many virtues, than the French Huguenots, who form so large an admixture in the modern South African Dutch, as witness to the French names so common amongst them. Many again are of German descent, and there is a smaller but not negligible infusion of British blood.

In the early days, and even in parts until the present generation, their life was such as to develop many of the best qualities of the pioneer. Struggles for liberty with their rulers, the constant fight with wild beasts and savage man, the resource and self-reliance demanded by exploration in the unmapped and unknown interior, was a schooling that made for many virtues. Isolation, which may mean stagnation for the dependent and weak, often develops originality and force of character in the reliant and strong. Even where, as in the more settled parts of the Cape Colony, the struggle became less one of life

and death, the portion of a farmer was not one of continuous ease. Drought, disease among flocks and herds, wild animals, all had to be faced and overcome or suffered.

To the Voortrekkers who went to the North and East the conflict was incessant. The story of their wanderings and fightings with Zulu and Basuto reads like a modern epic. Civilized and modern conditions, which I have mentioned before, have only of late years entered into their lives, and still a large number show much of the ability, the resource, the self-reliance engendered by their troublous and strenuous past. The ablest of them, the pick of the race, stand out as being among the very finest pioneers and frontier farmers the world has ever seen.

It is greatly to the credit of this section of the race, that, despite the many temptations to laxity due to a long period of wandering, they have maintained such a high standard of morals, especially in connection with the inferior races. Since the great trek, the pioneer Dutch have regarded any social and sexual intercourse between the black and white races as the last descent in degradation, and very few have transgressed. Entire social ostracism would inevitably follow any breach. The standard set in this respect is much higher than what was demanded in the early pioneer days by those of British descent. There are, of course, reasons which have little to do with the respective continence of the two peoples. The Voortrekkers were always accompanied by their families, the early settler of British descent was often a young man from England living a solitary life among natives, not a white woman or civilized influence within a day's ride or more. The Dutch, however remote their dwellings might be, were always under the influence and discipline of the Church, the British settler might be for years entirely cut off from all organized religious influence. Without therefore making a comparison as to the respective merits of the two peoples, we may say that the Dutch example in this respect has been

of inestimable value to the present and future of South East Africa.

But a life such as they led is essentially one that weeds out the weak from the strong. The tendency is for the strong to become stronger, the weak too often degenerate. And so with the Dutch-speaking Boers, those adapted to the life by temperament gained strength and virtue, but we may see many who have failed. In many parts of South Africa, in the drought-stricken Karroo, in the bush veldt of the Transvaal, in remote spots far away from the railways, are families who, as far as we can judge, have gone backwards. The game on which they subsisted has been decimated; they have never learned to work even at agriculture; indolent and illiterate, they have, in these later days, turned to the Government for help, have drifted into towns, and form one of the most insistent problems now before the Government. Little can be done with the older people—they are beyond redemption, but the race virtues are in the children, and if they could be removed from the base influences surrounding them, there is much hope for them yet.

If we eliminate the native, similar conditions to those present in South Africa have been those ruling in most of the new countries settled by the British and allied peoples. The pioneers in the Northern United States and Canada had, at least, as hard a task before them as the Dutch of South Africa. Indeed they had to contend with aborigines far more warlike, vindictive, cruel, and treacherous than either Bushman, Hottentot, or Abantu, and in addition had to face the rigours of a climate much more trying to the new-comer than the genial weather conditions of South Africa. In Australia too, although neither wild animals or savage man were so powerful or formidable as in South Africa, the droughts were such as to make the work of the pioneer a difficult task. The lives of the early settlers in these countries could not have been vastly different in these respects to that of the

- Boer people. The great and fundamental difference was that, in none of the countries to which we have looked for a parallel, was there a persistent and numerous
- coloured population willing to work for the white man ; there was no servile labour ; the white man had to do all the menial and hard work or it was left undone. Have we, in this fact, a clue to the absence, in any portion of the rural population of these countries, of a residuum com-
 - parable to the poor whites of South Africa ?

- A clear distinction must be drawn between this class
- and the submerged tenth of the great cities of modern civilization. Ours were bred in the country, and degenerated in spite of healthful surroundings and many factors and conditions which ought to have made for efficiency and prosperity ; theirs were bred in the city slums and the causes for their deterioration are totally different from those which produced the " poor white ".

We may be helped by a consideration of the problem as it appears in a country in which the conditions are more nearly like what obtain here. The Southern United States were settled originally by a high class of colonists, and like South Africa, after the early years, attracted comparatively few immigrants of European race.

- Their place was taken by black men from Africa, who there, as here, performed all the manual labour. The white population became divided into two classes. The able, who through slave labour often became wealthy, and had all the advantages of wealth, and who in the early days of the Union had a political power and prestige far beyond that of the Northern States. Along with
- * them a degraded class of whites—the mean whites of the South. Too proud to work themselves, accustomed to see the black and coloured man do all the manual labour, too lazy, or self-satisfied, or race proud to make effort to improve themselves, many remain to this day. A singular parallel to the position in South Africa. There, as here, they are a problem the Governments have been unable to solve.

It seems to me, that in the absence of this class in the country districts of the Northern States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and in its presence in the Southern States and South Africa, we must look for the reason in the one fundamental condition common to the two last and absent in the former ; the presence of a servile race causing the white man to look upon labour, with its antiseptic medicinal virtues, as a degradation.

Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, as Governor of Natal from 1893 till 1900, and as the Governor of the Cape Colony from that date until Union became an accomplished fact, an experience of seventeen years, had ample, almost unique, opportunity to study this phase of our question. In speeches delivered before leaving South Africa, and again particularly in a lecture given to the members of the Royal Colonial Institute, he emphasizes the fundamental difference between South Africa and the other great self-governing colonies as being essentially this one of black labour, and gives instances from personal observation of its effects. He is clear and explicit in his conclusion. Speaking of the poor white class, he says : " Kaffir's work they will not do, skilled labour they cannot do. They sink and sink and live in misery and wretchedness, the poor whites as they are called, objects of compassion, and, alas ! of contempt even to the natives, relying, not a few of them, on the natives for assistance to preserve them from starvation. The poor white problem is one of the most pressing of South African problems. *It is in a sense the direct result of native and coloured environment.*" There is no ambiguity about the opinion of one of the able pro-consuls Britain has sent to South Africa, and one whose opportunities for obtaining the fullest information, and forming a sound judgment thereon, were very great.

The presence of the persistent yet adaptive black man seems to set up a cleavage in the white race. Those who, whilst accepting the situation, accept it with its responsibilities—responsibilities of government and of individual

- development, and thus retain their race fibre ; and those who, accepting the easy conditions of merely animal life set up by the presence of a lower race, lose their fibre and degenerate.

- So far, among the farmers and country dwellers of British descent, there is no class who are degenerate as are the poor whites among the Dutch. The tradition of work, world-subduing energy, economic development, is the dominant note to-day among the farmer colonists of British descent. Agricultural progress of all kinds, the improvement of stock, the best kinds of machinery, are perennial subjects of conversation. It is probable that the amount of actual performance is small as compared with the talk—one often hears of admirable theories and schemes enunciated by those who will never put them into actual operation. This talk seems often a relief and justification to many who must regard themselves as executive failures ; still the spirit is one of work, of advancement in work. In many cases those who have shown what can be done, who have been pioneers in new enterprises, and through many difficulties have reached success, are sons of the soil, men born in South East Africa. Though in some cases with a rather narrow outlook, they often display energy, executive ability, and organizing power in their special work, quite abreast of that of the best immigrants.

But there are still a minority, home-born and colonial, who have yielded. In some cases it merely means that they live an easy life, do little work, trust to the native for most things, and if they go wrong put up with the loss philosophically, or blame and abuse the native according to temperament. In others we see various stages of degeneracy down to absolute indolence and familiarity with the native, terminating in miscegenation. Once that is reached the white man is lost, he may struggle and pretend that he still retains his self-respect, and at meetings of men attempt to assert himself, but invariably the consciousness of effort is present, and a general coldness

of those present accentuates it. But generally a misanthropic aloofness is the characteristic of those who have fallen so far.

I suppose, in the opinion of the average South African, the admixture in blood of the races is the worst that can happen, at least for the white race, and possibly for both. He does not realize at present the significance of the change in character likely to be wrought in the great majority in many subtle ways, by reason of our power over and dependence upon the black man. But he can see the degradation of the white man, the ambiguous position of the children, often the resentment of the native in cases of miscegenation; and he deplores it as the ultimate evil due to contact of the races. There is no condonation on the part of the Dutch, as we have seen, and the same attitude is taken up by the vast majority of the British. It is possible a few, believing the final issue must be a mixing of races, regretfully accept what seems to them the inevitable; and still fewer may agree with Sir Sidney Olivier, that miscegenation is not to be deplored, but will result in a mixed people with the good qualities of both strains, a race with a great work to do in the future. No, as I say, the vast majority deplore and condemn, and with these I must range myself. Whatever may be the position of the woman, that of the man is one of degradation, and if no other argument was possible, the anomalous position of the children should be sufficient warrant to make for utter condemnation.

I was travelling once in an up-country post-cart. A well-dressed white man of some forty years of age occupied the seat of privilege, the box-seat next the driver. In the middle seat of the cart, behind him, were two little coloured girls of some twelve or fourteen years of age, clean, and healthy looking, well-dressed, and with not unintelligent faces. At the back were two European children of somewhat similiar age travelling with a relative. I know now that the man on the box-seat was the father of the two coloured girls, he had married a native woman

and was taking his children home for the holidays, from a boarding-school for coloured children, which they attended. During the whole of the day's journey, not a word did I hear that parent address to his poor children, nor did they converse together except in an occasional whisper. The two white children, evidently going for a holiday, were irrepressible, full of the joy of their age and surroundings. Question and answer, quip and crank, admiration of, and interest in, the scenery ; their pleasure and delight filled the day. The contrast to the poor little coloured ones was pathetic, and gave no room for doubt in my mind as to the guilt of the man who betrays his race.

The position in Natal, Zululand, and East Griqualand has been somewhat changed and modified of late years. In the past when individual hunters, traders, and pioneer farmers first went into the land, it was not uncommon for them to take native women to wife, paying lobolo and marrying them according to native custom. A few actually did marry according to Christian rites, but these latter were always few in number. Some districts were much more addicted to the practice than others ; possibly the fashion was set by a person of strong character and influence and followed by others, and, as I have said, the presence of the Dutch, even in small numbers, restrained or prevented it in some districts. As a rule the practice did not extend after the settlement of an area by white families ; it was the outcome of an early primitive state of things, and probably at the present time in the country districts, there is, in proportion to the population, less mixing of the races by concubinage and marriage than in the past.

The weakening of restraint in their homes, the facilities for travelling, and the frequent visits paid by native girls and women to villages and towns, have made more common another form of intercourse of a casual nature, which, unlike the last, is probably increasing. Except in the vicinity of one or two mission stations, where the

people had got notoriously lax and out of hand, there was not in the old days very much casual sexual connection between the races, and practically none between Europeans and kraal girls. But the influences tending towards liberty and licence, of which I have so frequently spoken, is changing all this, and the results are in many ways worse than the settled concubinage and marriage of the early days. The natives themselves deplore it, and one of the most common complaints of the fathers and guardians, before the Natal Native Commission, was the seduction of, and intercourse with, their girls by white men. The Commission was so impressed with the gravity of the position, that they recommended, in the true interests of both races, that all connection between natives and other than natives be made a criminal offence. This form of intercourse, though it is not confined to them, is most frequent in the villages and towns, and there is evidence to show it is increasing. In this case there can be no question as to the lowering of the woman as well as of the man ; the whole position is full of danger to both races.

In the interests of both races laws have been passed and in force for many years, making it illegal for natives to have in their possession, or consume, any intoxicants other than their own native beer. The profits derivable from the supply of European liquor to natives are so great, that some licence-holders and Europeans of low class have not hesitated to carry on an illicit trade. Married men, living on licensed premises with their wives and children, have become so degraded, that they have broken the law in the face of those who should have been dearest to them, and I have seen intoxicated natives, horrible to behold, actually lying incapable or staggering with drunken and incoherent shout in the presence of little white children ! The effect of such a state of things, even if its grossness was not often so great as I have described, upon white and black, men, women and children, on those who were breaking the law, and those

who were unworthily condoning, is impossible to adequately express. My experience leads me to think that this evil is not so rife as it once was, and that public opinion views this offence with greater severity than was the case some few years ago. Fortunate indeed that it is so. But the opportunity and temptation still remain, and that it may take new and unforeseen phases is evidenced by the following cutting from the "Natal Mercury" of December, 1910:—

"Our attention has recently been drawn to what is a very serious phase of the native liquor question in connection with methylated spirits, which, as is known, many natives will drink with avidity; and the matter is the more serious for it has been ascertained, and the authority is unimpeachable in the case in question—it is to be hoped that the case is an isolated one—that small European boys, members of respectable families, have been in the habit of supplying natives with methylated spirits, which they bought on their behalf at a neighbouring chemist, and though arrests have been made, the matter has not come to public notice, owing to the bail system, the boys and natives arrested having forfeited their bails. The facts are briefly as follows: A Berea tradesman finding that the natives in his employ were frequently drunk, and that many strange natives and native women visited his native quarters, made inquiries, and found that two European lads were supplying them with methylated spirit or some other liquor, with the result that he gave the police at the local station permission to enter his natives' quarters at any time and arrest all trespassers. Acting on this permission, the police raided these quarters the same evening and found there two European lads and half a dozen natives, whom they arrested, the natives then being all more or less under the influence of liquor, whilst one of the white boys had a bottle of Cape wine (pontac) in his possession, and all were consequently charged with trespassing. One of the lads denied that he was then supplying the natives

with methylated spirit, but said that during the past three months, he and some five other boys, whose names he gave, and whose ages ranged from eleven years to seventeen, had on two occasions supplied these natives with methylated spirit, and mentioned that they got the spirit from a neighbouring chemist. The boys' parents were communicated with, and they were released on bail which was forfeited."

There are other results following the coming together of the races in towns which must be mentioned as likely to have an effect on our race. The increasing laxity of discipline at their homes, and the general tendency to freedom from restraint, has resulted in manifestations of lawlessness on the part of the young natives in the towns, which is of interest as a possible indication as to one phase which may be expected to develop in the future from the relaxation of control, before any preparation is made to provide a guide or check to take its place. In some Natal and Transvaal towns, even in Pietermaritzburg, where the old traditions have vogue to an extent lost elsewhere, gangs of native boys and young men take the streets at nights, armed with sticks and sometimes more dangerous weapons, and attack and rob both people of their own race and Europeans. On several occasions they have resisted the police and seriously injured constables and officers, both white and black, attempting their arrest. There is considerable difficulty in tracing them, but they have at times been brought to book, and exemplary sentences have been passed on them.

I would be prepared to regard such disturbances, if they occurred only among themselves like faction fighting, as of the nature of a game, and a little blood-letting between themselves I would wink at or punish lightly—boys will be boys. But these city gangs, which appear to be organized, are in a different category. They show that the respect for the white man, and for law and order, so conspicuous a feature in the character of the fathers of

these boys, is no more, and that they do not hesitate to attack and maim the uniformed representative of the white man's law.

The streets of many towns are overrun with native boys, selling newspapers, or nominally doing other casual work, imbibing eagerly all that panders to self-gratification, who should be either under discipline at their homes or at regular work. Untaught and under no control, they go to swell the hooligan gangs before mentioned. Some of my friends have been so impressed with the growing evil of this street Arabism that they desire to prevent all boys below a certain age coming into towns at all.

This chapter is primarily intended to show the effect of race contact on the whites, and this exordium on native city Arabs and hooligan gangs may not seem to the point. But white youths and boys mix with native youths, not as equals, but in a casual way, and this association, as the white population increases, is likely to become more. Lawlessness and vagabondage have attractions for white as well as black, and the effect on the white youth of the lower class of this element, may in the future be very considerable as it is very undesirable.

The effect of the possession of power over a people, regarded as inferior, on immature or unbalanced natures, may be seen exemplified in the attitude of some white youths towards the natives, whether servants, or dependants, or otherwise. There are many exceptions, but too often a domineering and masterful tone is adopted, which would be immediately resented by a white man, dependent or not, but which the native puts up with, without outward protest. He is not injured, but the white youth is; I cannot think that the impunity with which discourteous and inconsiderate acts can be committed is likely to be innocuous to the character in the making of those who follow us.

The evil effects of contact are more generally recognized in the case of younger children, who are nursed by black boys. Unfortunately at the most impressionable

age, young children of both sexes are left in entire charge of natives, who are often engaged specifically for this work in the most casual way, without regard to the state of their health, character, or morals. The irresponsible carelessness on the part of parents, which allows such a state of things, is probably the result of a reaction from the native to the European. The love of ease, the irresponsibility of the native, must have its effect on the average employer, and it seems to be shown in this case, in which the sacred duties of parenthood are evaded, and a responsibility, for which he is utterly unfit, is placed upon the native.

In this connection Mr. P. A. Barnett, late Superintendent of Education in Natal, in his paper on "Problems and Perils of Education in South Africa," says: "It is an appalling fact that in the great majority of Natal homes, the place of the kindergarten teacher is occupied by a Kaffir boy or girl who may be vicious, and is probably stupid. Most little white Natal children, the heirs of our noble and consecrated language, speak an infantile Kaffir better than they speak English and in preference to it. Not only are there English parents who are not ashamed that little Tommy or Polly can understand and only speak this miserable jargon, but there are English fathers and mothers who boast that they never allow their Kaffir servants to speak to themselves or their children in English. A more deliberately wrong-headed and mischievous practice it would be hard for empirical stupidity to invent. At the beginning of school life in Natal, little English children have often to be taught, not only to speak English, but to understand it when they hear it. They talk and think in Kaffir so long, and at an age so delicate and susceptible, that for the rest of their lives they escape the effects only with the greatest difficulty. Their development is often permanently arrested and the mischief becomes inveterate because they must needs go on spending their adolescent and adult lives in an atmosphere pervaded by Kaffirdom. They do not, like

the Anglo-Indian child, quit the lower association and have done with it. Cases have been reported to me of pupils well trained in European schools reverting to their infantile associations on returning home, and losing all the cultivation and intellectual alertness which they brought from school. A corresponding moral deterioration is almost inevitable. The use of the Kaffir boy or girl drudge as nurse or kindergartener brings other evils in its train. The things about which a Kaffir talks, innocently enough in his own stage of development, are not the things we would have our little ones habitually hear, and the traditional secular practices of the black folk are sometimes ineffably foul."

The dangers and degenerative influences of the special phase with which we are now dealing, the nursing of young children by native boys, is so much more obvious than most of the less palpable effects of contact, that it has awakened some public attention. An association has been formed in Natal with the object of endeavouring to reform the present objectionable methods. It may be possible to arouse the public conscience and minimize the evils on this matter, but at the root of this and less obvious dangers, lies the fact that contact is bound to have its effect—it is a law of nature, and no temporary expedients will suffice to eliminate or thwart it. As the twig is bent the tree is inclined, and the constant intimate presence of those whose influence is against that of the higher nature at the most susceptible time of life, is incalculable and cumulative.

At all times in this country, instances happen of undue familiarity of black men to white women, culminating in indecent assault, or even rape. A case of unusual brutality at length occurs, and the white population is roused to indignation and demands the death of the offender, or occasionally takes the law into its own hands. Feeling runs so high that calm judgment is suspended, and no attempt is made to trace effects to causes, but one insistent cry goes up that the punishment shall be of such a drastic

nature as to be in itself a sufficient deterrent. It is hardly likely that such outrages will become less frequent if this is the only course adopted. By all means let the punishment be the heaviest that can be inflicted, but let us realize that the very conditions under which we live tend to wear away the respect of the black man for the white, and that many of our actions directly encourage crimes of this nature. I do not wish to emphasize the shameful scenes that may be witnessed in Johannesburg, and even other populous centres, which tend to bring white women into disrepute with the natives. All colonists know and deplore them. In two cases of outrage lately reported obscene photographs were found in the possession of the culprits. Where did they obtain them and from whom? But these direct incentives to contemptuous passion are winked at or condoned, until a wave of unbridled licence and lust seems to pass over the land, and the innocent suffer for the abominations committed by the guilty. South Africans have been extraordinarily law-abiding up to the present under this most extreme provocation to their manhood, but it is quite possible that at any time events may occur resulting in such scenes as are enacted in the Southern States. The passions then aroused, the suspension of reason, the defiance of the law, even if only temporary, must have an effect on the character of those who appeal to brute force, and indeed on the community, which will have far-reaching and most disastrous effects.

Much too briefly in his address on the native question before the congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope did Lord Selborne touch on the dangers of assimilation. He merely pointed out the fact that the assimilation of some of the race characteristics of the Abantu were inevitable, and bade us ponder them well. We have seen this is operating in the impinging of the native on our inner family life.

I repeat that I regard both races as having special race characteristics of value to them and humanity at

large, which I would sacrifice much to preserve. The assimilation need not necessarily be altogether of such obvious degenerative effect as would be implied in learning bad language and indecent or coarse gestures and habits. It involves a more subtle, intangible, and inward change, the deposition in the fibre of his nature of some portion of the ego of the black man, a corresponding retarding of his own individual and race development. A transmutation unseen, but not the less intimate. Lord Selborne points out that the more civilized the Abantu, the fewer objectionable and unnatural traits there will be for the Europeans to assimilate. Possibly true, but the obviously objectionable and unnatural traits can be seen and checked, and are less dangerous to the purity of our race life than the insidious influences which emanate unseen.

Subtle indeed, and not easy to trace, are the influences—degenerative or uplifting—which are induced by the intimate contact of race with race. We can often only trace them after lapse of time, and then involved with a number of other social phenomena. But we may be sure they are present, ever-present, ever-acting, ever-cumulative. The net result of such contact in his present stage of development is hardly likely to be for the good of the native, and certainly is not good for us.

The influences born of the possession of power unchecked, which tend to warp the right and true instincts of our race, and which will act and react in many unpredictable ways, are difficult to define. Occasionally one comes across a concrete case. In a certain South African town, which I will not indicate further, a petition was sent in to the corporation by the painters of the town, protesting against the custom of allowing natives to paint the electric tram posts. A report was called for and sent in. This report pointed out, that although the painting of the lower portion of the poles was simple unskilled work, merely daubing the paint on a plain surface, the upper portion was more intricate, and involved a certain amount of danger to the workmen from the electric cur-

rent. It was decided to allow the black man to continue to undertake the somewhat dangerous, but more skilled work at the top of the poles, at his low rate of pay, the white operator to have the safe and unskilled work at the bottom, at skilled labour prices! Could irony go further?

In all I say I am bearing in my mind the average man. If I saw signs that the leisure enjoyed by him was employed in self-improvement, in thinking out the problems which cry aloud for solution, my views might be modified. If self-discipline took the place of the discipline forced upon our peers living under sterner conditions, if freedom from toil meant the voluntary acceptance of a higher responsibility, I might regard the ease given by the black man's labour as a blessing to our race, a forecast of the time prophesied by the reformers, when all shall have leisure, and employ that leisure in their own development and for the advantage of mankind.

This I cannot see, much as I would like to do so, at present. I only perceive an absence of those driving forces which elsewhere have made men fit, and tended to the advancement of the race.

But there is a class in every community which is a discipline unto themselves, who are largely superior to their environment, who make their own characters, who transform their temptations into virtue. And we also have such. Over them the natives have no such influences as I have described. In matters material, the abundance of native labour induces them, by its promise of enhanced returns, to larger schemes of industrial organization than would otherwise be possible, and entails a strenuous and ever-watchful attitude to make the best of it. The freedom from manual toil, and its attendant leisure, gives them opportunity for mental pleasures and attainments otherwise impossible. And more, such a one feels the responsibilities and problems which he must undertake by reason of the presence of the black man, and this responsibility does not rest upon him lightly, but is a force which tends to develop many of his highest powers.

Under present conditions the influences at work may, for the majority, mean a tendency towards degeneration ; the same influences, transmuted, may in the case of the select few work for a higher development than would be possible if the problems and difficulties were absent. The man in South East Africa who ignores his responsibilities and simply takes the ease which his environment allows is freed from demands which elsewhere keep him in race training—they are the many ; the man who faces his responsibilities seriously, and scorning ease lives laborious days, will have a training engendered by the very causes which in the other may mean degeneration—these are the few.

We are dealing with the race and not primarily with individuals, and such a forecast is not a pleasant one for the race. We want a high standard of efficiency and life for the many, and a policy for the future that shall make this its aim, and we should consciously take such steps as may tend to ensure it. This policy I will try to indicate later. Meantime, whatever such may be, however far it may or may not deserve recognition, one thing is certain. If the white race in South Africa is to keep its position, not ease and sloth, but the highest development of all its faculties, will be increasingly needful. We cannot afford that any of the ruling race should fall behind ; physically, mentally, morally—all should be calculated to ensure the respect of those under our charge. An idle dissolute European is a menace and danger to the race. The standard of morals should be high, and, whilst eschewing luxury, the standard of living should not be allowed to fall. Our children in the primary schools should be taught that they have a race responsibility, and the terms of that responsibility. They should be taught the history and character of the people they are called upon to rule, and enjoined to treat them with courtesy and consideration—it is their duty as governors. And in our higher schools, ethnology as a science, and ethnology as applied to social questions and government, should be included in the

curriculum, and should be one of the subjects qualifying for a university degree. Much is demanded of our race elsewhere, but in a homogeneous population with the same ideals, understanding each other, a certain slackness of fibre may not be disastrous; here we cannot afford such—all must be at the highest pitch. A counsel of perfection! Yes, but we have been given much, and of us much will be required.

How far we fall short, on the educational side alone, may be seen by the following quotation from a lecture delivered by Mr. P. A. Barnett, M.A., sometime Chief Inspector of Schools and Superintendent of Education in Natal, before the Royal Colonial Institute, on "Problems and Perils of Education in South Africa": "The Superintendent of Education in Cape Colony in his last published report notes with satisfaction that during the last year the ratio of white children receiving education has increased by 2·21 per cent. For many years this ratio has, he points out, been on the downward trend, and the figures are eloquent. The actual figures are these:—

| | 1898. | 1899. | 1900. | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Ratio per cent of white pupils | 42·00 | 40·58 | 39·77 | 38·11 | 36·88 | 39·09 |
| „ „ coloured „ | 58·00 | 59·42 | 60·23 | 61·89 | 63·12 | 60·91 |

The excess of coloured children attending school over white is now (1905) 33,660, but in 1902 it was 38,967."

Mr. K. A. Hobart Houghton, B.A., of Lovedale, read a paper before the South African Association for Advancement of Science, in 1906, on "European Children in South Africa not receiving any School Education," and, though he points out how difficult it is to arrive at any really accurate estimate of the numbers of European children of school-going age who are receiving no kind of instruction whatever, some of the facts and figures he gives are sufficiently disquieting. His inquiry into the position in the Cape Colony shows "that approximately 30,000 white children in Cape Colony, or 23·3 per cent of the total number of school-going age, are neither receiving instruction *nor engaged in any occupation*."

"In Natal he considers some 4000 are without school instruction.

"In the Transvaal there are 62,677 white children between the ages of five and fifteen of whom 25,137 are receiving no school education.

"In the Orange Free State the white children between the ages of five and fourteen are about 37,000, of these over 20,000 receive no school teaching."

The position to-day has no doubt improved, but is still so far from satisfactory that solemn warnings have lately been uttered by educational authorities and serious journalists, telling the people of the danger to the State of such a dense mass of ignorance in their midst.

Whatever policy may be adopted, we have the native here among us in South Africa, he will impinge upon us do what we will, he will become educated and strive for the recognition due to his efforts and achievements. We cannot ultimately deny it. Some would keep him back, and meantime we enjoy the time of sloth, ease, and pleasure. Fatuous policy ; deny the debt whilst compound interest is ever accumulating ! Far better to face the facts, help on the native in his reasonable ambitions, and at the same time realize that our race position demands such effort on our part, that whilst denying him no fair opportunity, we may, by strenuous effort, keep in the proud but onerous position to which we have been called.

CHAPTER IX.

PAST POLICIES AND PRESENT THEORIES.

AFTER a prolonged struggle against the autocratic rule of the governing powers in the old Cape Colony, the Dutch-speaking colonists of European descent won for themselves a measure of self-government, and the spirit animating them in the conflict was fully evidenced when the Voortrekkers, types of the race, set up Governments of their own in the North. Republics in name, oligarchies in fact; for whilst every white man, as a white man, was a ruler and had an equal voice in shaping the destinies of the country, every black man, because he was a black man, was debarred. The Grondwet or fundamental law of the Transvaal did not allow of mistake, and specifically laid it down that there shall be no equality of black and white in Church or State. The same condition of things prevailed in the Orange Free State. The spirit evidenced elsewhere was similar. Strictly within the limits of the white community, the most democratic spirit prevailed. White men differed in education, wealth, and ability, but no real disability was placed on any by reason of deficiency in these things. True, there were some property and educational tests for the franchise, but they were not supposed to act to the exclusion of the whites, the very fact that he was a white man made him, *ipso facto*, a ruler, and in this respect the equal of the best.

In the Cape Colony, a number of natives acquired the right to vote, but even to-day the total number is singularly small. When responsible government was granted to that Colony in 1853, no distinction was made in the franchise as to race and colour. A feeling arose that

some test of fitness should be applied, and an educational and property qualification was demanded and provided for under the amended law of 1894. Although these tests were not high—ability to read and write, an income of £50 a year, or the ownership of immovable property of the value of £75,—after all these years there are only some eight thousand full-blooded natives on the electoral rolls.

With this question of representation we must deal later, meanwhile a general statement may be made with regard to the political position in South East Africa,—a statement which is not invalidated in any material degree by what I have shown to be the different position in the Cape Colony in regard to the franchise; a position of affairs, it may be admitted, that ought to be always realized by the white men in this country, and ought to be constantly remembered by them, but which we are too apt to forget, and thus forgetting we think and act as if the position in South Africa was the same as in the other great self-governing colonies. When fundamental truths are forgotten or ignored, there is all the more need that they should be frequently and forcibly reiterated.

Here we have, in a country in many respects well fitted to be the home of the white man, a large European population who have made it their heritage, and who intend to pass it on to their children, governing it, as far as they are concerned, by modern democratic methods, yet being the oligarchs to a huge black proletariat, living right in and amongst them, who are without any political rights. It is a situation unique in the British Empire, it provokes problems in the consideration of which we can get little or no guidance elsewhere, and yet the great majority of those who have this vast responsibility do not appear in the least to realize it. Every European, or nominal European, every Semite from Russia or Poland, who may be illiterate, unable to speak the English language, and utterly unacquainted with our forms of government, becomes, by the very fact of being classed as a European, the ruler of from five to ten black men,

natives of the land, often better men physically, mentally, and morally than this individual who holds the destinies of half a score of them in his hand.

A stranger interested in sociological questions, who had read of the various races living in South East Africa and wished to study them on the spot, who landed during the time of a general election and attended the usual election meetings, might well be excused for thinking that all he had read of these different races forming the population of the country was a myth. Little in the addresses of the candidates, in the questions asked of them by the electors, would indicate that we were not a homogeneous people with one aim, one ideal, though with different methods of working towards its realization. An occasional statement that the native question was one of great importance and would need most careful study, or some similar vague generalization, would be the only indication that each elector (in Natal at all events) was responsible for the well-being and government of ten black men. Plenty about matters immediately affecting white men—imports, exports, education, railways, harbours, quotations of what was done in progressive countries and calls to emulation ; but no apparent realization that in South East Africa we were in a totally different position to the countries so freely quoted or that our situation was so exceptional.

A people under democratic conditions have the task of governing a very much larger population living in the midst of them, who have no word in such government.

This, of course, is the position of the electorate of Britain, who are the rulers of hundreds of millions of backward people in India, Egypt, and the isles of the sea, who, as with our black people, have no voice in their own destiny. The difference with us in South East Africa is that the subject people are living in our midst. This fact is what makes for complexity and, if I may say so, for danger. The British electorate, realizing that they know nothing of these alien peoples living under such different

conditions thousands of miles away, yet anxious to do justly by them, trust the task of governing them to men specially chosen and qualified, with whom they seldom interfere. In South East Africa, owing to the intimate contact of the races, the clash of interests (as the white man wanting labour, the black man repose) prompts the people and their representatives in Parliament to take upon themselves, too often without due thought or knowledge, the duties which in the case of the British people are given into the hands of highly qualified experts. It is true that while the natives are quiet, and labour is plentiful and the white man is prospering and making money, the usual course is to ignore them, and only pass such legislation affecting them as will tend to quietude, and in cases help or not hinder their exploitation. The common attitude of electors and representatives alike is indifference to the native question, and yet this electorate, for the most part unlearned in all affecting the natives, and usually so busy with its own affairs as to be culpably careless about them and their interests, has in its hands all ultimate power,—a power which may easily become very dangerous.

Let us now examine the lines upon which the Governments responsible for the natives in South East Africa have so far exercised these enormous powers, and also consider certain definite or implied theories and policies advocated which have aroused some public attention, and which might be adopted by Government if they were pressed thereto by the electorate. This examination will probably show that certain conceptions, forming part of these policies and theories, may well be embodied in a scheme applicable to the present time which I propose to try to frame, and which should also include certain conclusions which I have already indicated are held by me on the questions of land, labour, education, and missions.

In the Transvaal, which ruled nearly a million resident black men, apart from nearly three hundred thousand

temporarily employed but having their homes elsewhere, the position was fairly clear. The Grondwet, which so clearly, concisely, and cynically laid down the relative positions of black and white, disappeared as a defined policy at the close of the war in 1902, but the practice was not greatly changed. State and municipal regulations were based on the superiority of the white man, and the position of the races was largely that of employer and employed. I need not recite the privileges given to the one race and the disabilities placed on the other; if quoted in detail they would fully justify the general conclusion laid down. The keynote was the absolute governance of the white man.

In Natal an ordinance was passed in the fifties of the last century providing that only a limited number of kraals, sufficient to provide the necessary labour for the white occupier, should be allowed on any one farm. This law, though still on the statute book, has been utterly ignored and has been a dead letter for many years. I do not think any living man remembers it being put into operation. It may, however, be fairly assumed that those who were responsible for it aimed at a separation of the races as far as might be, and intended that only such natives should live their home life alongside the whites, as were actually necessary to fulfil the labour requirements of the latter. This assumption is strengthened when we remember that, about the same time, nearly one-fifth of the whole area of Natal proper (2,192,568 acres out of a total of 12,800,000 acres) was laid out in locations for the exclusive use of the natives. This provision was more than ample for the Abantu then living in the colony, and, I think, clearly indicates the policy of the early lawgivers and administrators, which was, that the races should, as far as possible, live their lives apart. Practical administration was based upon two principles; the one aimed at securing peace in the land, the other that the native should have, as representative of Government, a man known to and trusted

by them, who, whilst the official mouthpiece and executive hand of the Government, should be a father and protector to the people.

The first principle was secured by the policy of keeping the tribes separate, and thus the tribal differences and animosities were perpetuated, and combination in a common cause against Government made difficult or impossible. The second was admirably secured by the appointment of Sir Theophilus Shepstone (Somtseu) as Permanent Secretary for Native Affairs.

Realizing also that the tribal system would not last for all time, that however we might strive to cement it, the altered conditions would gradually bring about disintegration; and recognizing that an increasing number would receive education, and desire to be free from the servitude and obligations of tribal life, provision was made that any native, after passing certain tests and satisfying the authorities that he was fitted in all respects for a more responsible individual life, might obtain exemption from native law, and come under the operation of the ordinary law of the colony. And further, that on passing other tests and making it clear to the Supreme Chief that he was living a civilized life, he might attain the franchise, and become in all respects as a white man in the eye of the law.

The native policy of Natal has had many critics, principally in the ranks of those who desire native advancement, and many hard things have been said of the colony and the backward condition of the native population; and their revolts against Government have been instanced to point the moral. I venture, however, to say that at the time the policy I have outlined was framed, it would have been difficult indeed, to have propounded one better suited to the conditions of the colony and its Abantu population. And it had the special virtue, that it was based on principles, some of which we may endorse to-day as being essential to any enlightened native policy. I fully believe in the follow-

ing fundamental principles which were evidently in the minds of the early Natalians :—

Separation of the races as far as may be, giving each an opportunity of living its own race life.

Fatherly rule for the majority.

Provision for the emancipation from tribal rule and custom as they become fully fitted and desire it.

The fault in Natal did not lie in the policy laid down in practical fashion by the early authorities, our faults were later, and here our critics may find some justification. We forgot the native, we were so busy with our own affairs—building, importing, farming, making money, and taking our pleasure—that we had no time to think of the man upon whose manual labour we were raising our superstructure. We only gave attention to native affairs when legislation was thought necessary, which, though directed at him, was often primarily in our own interest. It was not realized that his environment was changing and affecting the conditions of his life and character, and that we should give a weighty thought to his affairs. Without realizing again the cumulative effect of our direct and indirect impingement upon him, we also forgot the effect constant pin-pricks have even upon the most stolid. We suffered and they suffered; and the inquiry to which I have frequently referred was held, and the above conclusions, and others I have mentioned in other places, were brought home to us.

Another, to which I have not made an implicit reference till now, must be made clear. It was that Parliament, as at present constituted, was not, from the nature of things, fitted to undertake the governance of a race unrepresented among its members, with such different wants and ideals to ours. That the democratic representative form of government which had been gradually evolved during the life history of our race, and perhaps the best method and machinery for our government, was not suited to that of a backward race living in our midst. That, as in Britain it was regarded as unwise for Parliament to

interfere with too direct a hand in the affairs of Egypt and India, but ruled them through pro-consuls and trained executive officers of great ability and special training and aptitudes; so, though Parliament must decide on the lines of general policy, constant interference is, in the highest degree, mischievous. To do so would mean the antithesis of what is absolutely necessary in the government of a backward people—personal, continuous, and consistent rule. The general tendency would be to neglect native interests, with a periodical awakening under the influence of conscience, fear, or some other hidden or abstruse motive unknown to the native population, and an ignorant interference more harmful than the previous indifference.

I suppose the Legislative Assembly and Council of Natal contained a larger proportion of members who had lived their lives among the Abantu, and spoke their language, than it is ever possible to get in a Union Parliament. It was more directly to the interests of their constituents and of themselves that the natives should be peaceful, content, and well-governed than it can possibly be for the members of the Union Parliament. Yet, neglect too often alternated with unwise action. In Natal there were no political parties in the ordinary sense of the term, and the uttermost evil, that of making native affairs the subject of party politics and strife, was, fortunately for us, not present. In the Union Parliament, party strife is likely to be keen indeed. Fortunately, I think the good sense of both sides will prevent the interests of the natives being made the subject of party politics. Heaven help black and white alike, if we should descend to that. But the utmost self-restraint is necessary, and as was pointed out by the Natal Commission, which went more fully into this aspect of the question than any other deliberative and advisory body I know, Parliament must consciously realize that it is not fitted, by its constitution, to deal with this question in detail, and must be prepared to delegate its undoubted powers to those who are specially fitted to do so. Whom these should be under the new

condition of things set up in South Africa by the Act of Union I will try to indicate later ; but meantime, I will strengthen the position I have taken up by a few quotations from the Natal Report of 1906-7, which, though not continuous or consecutive, will show the matured opinion of that body on this most important aspect of the question.

In Clause 8. "In their inexact and unreflective way they attribute all their troubles to the Government, which they believe either originates or permits or sanctions all that has changed their life from the simplicity of the past to the uncertain conditions of the present. Reasoning as they do, they see the hand of Government in the high rents and labour demanded by landlords, the various taxes they have to pay, the numerous passes or permits they have to be provided with, the restrictive, unfamiliar, and unknown laws they have to submit to, the compulsory service they have to render on public works, and the disintegration of their tribal and family systems."

Clause 23. "Faced by the many problems of this interminable question, the ordinary Minister with his uncertain tenure of office, is satisfied if he tides over difficulties and maintains the status quo, and he is thus under disabilities from the commencement."

Clause 24. "It is therefore intended to discuss elsewhere the absolute necessity of relieving the Minister for Native Affairs from the duty of attending to the details of native management, reserving to him merely the direction of the final approval of a policy and dividing the responsibility of arrangement and action between a permanent Council and a number of specially qualified officers."

Clause 29. "These remarks (on the present unsatisfactory position) are intended to lead up to the suggestion that both the administrative and legislative sides of the Government should earnestly reconsider the whole scheme of native administration. If this be delayed or neglected the warning should be given that, without claiming the possession of predictive powers, the cumulative effect

of the immense mass of evidence justifies the right to foretell with reasonable accuracy what the result of a refusal to adopt and apply alleviative measures will be, viz. continued discontent and distrust and a possible further explosion of the pent-up forces of disaffection. Relying upon the diagnosis which has been made, mere palliatives will not suffice, as the rill of discontentment to-day will, if not controlled, become the torrent of mal-contentment to-morrow. We should not expect a race yet in its childhood to act in a manner befitting developed and matured humanity, hence their inclination to appeal to force rather than to reason for a redress of what they consider their wrongs."

Clause 32. "New conceptions work slowly; still it may be asked with all deference whether Parliament is the best qualified body to make laws by which almost every act of these people is to be governed. It is apparent to all who understand the question that the natives are being over-administered, and that they are ignorant of many of the laws which affect themselves."

Clause 33. "Parliament in 1891 retracted the powers it vested in 1887 in the administration of the country, and has since then enacted all laws affecting the natives, not only of a general character, but also those regulating their relations with each other. Considering its origin and composition, Parliament stands virtually in the relationship of an oligarchy to the natives, and naturally it studies more the interests of the constituencies to which the members owe their election than to those who had no voice in their election, more particularly when the interests of the represented conflict with those of the unrepresented."

Clause 35. "The administration of native affairs must, if it is to be successful, have a self-contained basis of its own based on the autocratic principle of control. Seemingly it cannot be reiterated too often that the form of government which we have devised and evolved for ourselves throughout many centuries cannot be co-ordin-

ated to a people so widely different. Races so divergent, if ruled alike, must draw apart and become antagonistic unless one party greatly predominates and forces the other into submission. Wisdom and justice point to a better way, the natural and scientific as opposed to the theoretical and artificial."

Clause 39. "Sufficient has now been said to indicate that we have been moving too fast in our endeavour to impose an advanced political system upon a race yet in its infancy, clinging to the past and fearful of the strange and unknown. But before proceeding to outline the suggested scheme, it should be remarked that the movability of ruling officers, which is the chief feature of responsible government, not only passes their comprehension but excites their apprehension. They understand why the Governor as representative of the Sovereign should be changed, but it fills them with astonishment that Ministers should come and go without apparent reason. Not only do Ministers change, but their ideas of treatment vary also, and this raises suspicion and engenders distrust. The seat and centre of authority should therefore be visible and permanent, accessible and helpful, at all times and under all circumstances."

Clause 40. "To obviate the disadvantages inherent in a system which we may approve for ourselves but which is not in its essentials adapted to a people yet under the patriarchal system, Parliament should be urged to grant a charter within such limits as will be indicated enabling it the more effectually to control and improve the natives, much in the same way as a township can be better governed by a municipality than by the central authority of the country. It is no part of this proposition to divorce native administration from the general government of the country, and the bogey cry of an 'imperium in imperio' need not therefore be raised. Neither should it be denounced as empirical and visionary, for it can be supported both by experience and analogy. In addition to municipalities all incorporated societies control their

own affairs within the limits of their constitution, and so does our railway department, which is merely continued as an institution by Act of Parliament but makes its own rules and regulations to carry on its own work. Reference might also be made to the British Army, which exists only by the will of the Legislature without interference with its internal economy."

Clause 41. "Enough therefore has been advanced to show there is abundant precedent for the proposal, and if any further statement be necessary, it will be sufficient to point out that the Legislature by Law 44 of 1887 went far in the same direction by delegating to the Administrative side of Government the codification of native law and the preparation of rules relating to natives. Parliament, however, for some undisclosed reason withdrew this power of Law 19 of 1891, since when all changes in purely native law have been made solely by the Legislature, a body which cannot claim to be specially equipped for the purpose. Moreover, all such changes have been introduced without any reference to the people themselves, who thus have just reason to complain that they are in ignorance of such laws, and indeed of many other enactments affecting themselves until they are told to obey them or punished for not obeying them. It is in this respect that Parliament may rightly be regarded as an oligarchy in its relationship to these people, notwithstanding all that may be said about the general representation of the natives being included in the special representation of the Europeans. To show how baseless such arguments are, it may be safely asserted that the game laws, the pass laws, and the morality act among others would never have taken their present form had native opinion been fully understood and insisted upon in Parliament. It is partial and ill-considered legislation of this character which forces the native to seek some voice in the councils of the State, the Christian native calling for it in Parliament, the others in less definite form."

Clause 42. "Parliament should, therefore, not grudge-

ingly or reluctantly, but in a broad and enlightened spirit, from an honest conviction of its necessity and wisdom, entrust some of its own powers, formulated as a constitution, to the administration for the purpose of securing a more effective and progressive control over the natives."

Thus the Commission, by a sequence of logical reasoning, showed that Government of the people, for the people, by the people, must not be pushed to its final issues when part of the people are on a different plane and unrepresented. They did more, they showed how, without violation of the principles of representative government, adaptations could be made to suit our unusual conditions. As I said before, following somewhat tardily on the appearance of this Report, the Natal Government of the day brought in a Bill embodying some of the practical suggestions of the Commission based on the principles outlined above. I need not further allude to them, as I propose to include in the recommendations I venture to make, an application to the wider sphere now made possible by the adoption of Union by South Africa. Sufficient experience has been gained to show the truth and value of the principles and the best method of their application to a wider area.

The system of government which has been applied to Basutoland must be considered. The early history of the Switzerland of South Africa is one of constant struggle for independence. Bravely they strove against Briton and Boer with varying success, in their last conflict with the Orange Free State losing the richest of their land, which now forms part of that colony, and still is called the "conquered territory". The history of these various wars from the formation of the Basuto nation are told in the fullest detail in Sir Godfrey Lagden's comprehensive work on the Basutos. Their last great conflict with their then overlords, the Government of the Cape Colony, which was undertaken for the purpose of disarming the people, resulted in the administration of the country falling directly upon the Imperial Government. The policy

adopted is well described by Sir Godfrey Lagden. Personal, consistent, continuous rule by specially chosen and sympathetic white administrators who did not disturb the ancient order, but continued to recognize the old tribal system, and who governed with a light hand through the old chiefs and headmen. While the fullest opportunity was given to missionaries and the warmest co-operation existed between them and the administration, the best in the old system was preserved. The Imperial authorities and Parliament trusted the man on the spot, and left all details to him. In no part of South Africa has the wisdom of this policy been more amply demonstrated. The people have been, considering their turbulent past, wonderfully law-abiding, appreciative of the good government under which they lived and willing to make sacrifices to ensure its continuance. Increasing prosperity has been theirs. One of the most significant incidents in their latter-day history occurred in 1898. Up till that time, though the Imperial Government ruled the land, it was incumbent on the Administration of the Cape Colony to make good any deficit by an annual subsidy. Each year in the Cape Parliament, when the debate on the estimates came on, many vexatious questions arose resulting in a claim to exercise some measure of control over the finances of Basutoland. The principal revenue, then as now, was derived from direct taxation, every hut in the country paying an annual tax of ten shillings. Sir A. Milner when visiting the country pointed out the anomalous position, and suggested that, to avoid this possible interference, the Basuto people should so tax themselves as to pay their own way. To this the paramount chief and people readily acceded; the hut tax was doubled, and since that time the Basuto have been financially independent.

More than that, the whole of the cost of the administration of the country has been borne by the people, and an increasing amount yearly devoted to the betterment of land and folk, in 1907-8 no less than £46,000 being

voted for public works, and nearly £12,000 to education. A surplus has gradually been accumulated, until now it amounts to over £150,000. The wisdom of their rulers, and the sagacity of the people, are amply shown by this record. The Basuto people, to a greater degree than most Abantu, had always representation and a voice in the Councils of the nation. In 1903 this took a constitutional shape in the formation of a National Council of one hundred members, who are partly selected by the chief and partly nominated by the Government. Its duties are to confer with the Administration on internal affairs, to voice grievances and opinions, to discuss tribal disputes, and to consider the appropriation of the money paid as taxes. They have also framed a code of law applicable to the wants of the Basuto people.

It seems to me that the outstanding feature in the history of Basutoland since the gun war is the progressive advance of the people under native law and the old tribal customs. It may be that in time, with the changing conditions in South Africa, the people will desire and be ripe for a system giving greater scope to individuality. Meantime peace, progress, and solidarity are shown to be not incompatible with the old order, and in this respect Basutoland has a weighty lesson to teach.

We have somewhat to learn from a consideration of the line of policy adopted in the Cape Colony. And here, I may say that the geographical distribution of the people there, makes the application of any scheme dealing only with the Abantu much easier than it is in Natal or even the Transvaal. The locations in Natal, which only contain approximately 230,000 natives, about 425,000 being tenants or squatters on private farms, are, many of them, in close juxtaposition to the centres of European population. The Inanda and Umlazi locations are within a few miles of Durban, while the Zwartkop location actually abuts on the town lands of Pietermaritzburg. In the Cape Colony, the vast bulk of the native population inhabits the Transkeian territories in which are only a

few white residents, making it possible to introduce administrative measures impossible where the races are more intermixed.

The main features of the Cape policy are, the discouragement of the tribal system with its communal system of land tenure, and the gradual adoption of individual holdings; the encouragement to missions and especially to education, the adoption of a plan by which they undertake the management of their local affairs under the guidance of the white man; and lastly the frank gift of the franchise on the same terms as it is given to others. All this, especially the last item, differentiates the policy pursued in the Cape Colony from what has been adopted in Natal, and still more from that of the Transvaal, and the results of this advanced policy need some examination.

In the chapter on the tribal system I went fully into the effect of the ancient rule on the character of the native, its more general advantages and disadvantages. We saw that, whatever attitude we might adopt towards it, the advent of the white man, the influence of his presence in the land, the effect of his contact and activities would inevitably, in time, disintegrate the social system of the black man, and it is only a question of time until it crumbles to dust. And yet we saw that for to-day, and possibly for many days to come, it has a great value in the government of the Abantu. The controls and sanctions of the system, the ordered life made possible by it, if incontinently removed, would leave the black man naked indeed. It is the duty of those who undertake the responsibilities of government to see to it that the only social system the more backward of the people have or can understand, should be held together until they are prepared, and we, out of our greater foresight, have made ready for them something to take its place.

Hence it was, that the Natal Native Commission uttered a paradox. They found that the powers of the chiefs had been weakened and attenuated to an extent

that made it increasingly difficult for them to effectually control people who were not advanced beyond the needs of tribal life, and at the same time they were held responsible for the acts of their people. They therefore recommended some increase in those powers. Some critics regarded this recommendation as a retrograde step, a return to barbarism. The commission recognized though, that reduction of the power of the chief, which means the sapping of the strength of the communal life, must only be concurrent with, and in amount equal to, the fitness of the people for such measure of emancipation.

Feeling that this was not the case in Natal, they were of opinion that, for a time, the disintegrating forces should be somewhat checked to enable adjustment to take place. At the same time they advocated measures which laid the axe at the very root of tribalism, knowing that the operation of these causes would be gradual, and trusting that as they came into fuller operation, Government would have made provision for something to take its place suited to the altered needs of the people.

Apparently in the Cape Colony this has been realized, for as the power of the chiefs declined, and their place was taken by Government headmen, and many of their functions formed part of the duties of magistrates, the people began to look to the latter for the help and advice hitherto obtained from their chiefs, and the magistrates assumed the control which had fallen from the hands of their hereditary rulers. As we have seen, the communal tenure of land is the essence of tribalism, and whilst the chiefs were being gradually reduced in numbers and power, and superseded by the European magistrate, opportunity was given to the more enlightened natives, free now from tribal authority, to acquire land in their own right.

The salient features of the scheme under which they could obtain these personal rights were :—

That the right should not be forced on the native ; he must himself recognize the advantage and ask for it.

A holding was intended to be sufficient for the reasonable support of a man and his family, and the rule was, one man one holding.

The tenure was not freehold but a lease in perpetuity, carrying certain obligations on the holder, the infringement of some of which, e.g. rebellion, made forfeiture of the land possible.

Only a native could be the legal holder.

The idea was that as the native came out of tribal life and began to feel his individual existence, provision should be made by which he could live the new life and have his opportunity for individual development, encouraged by the stimulus of holding land in his own right with the full personal advantage to himself of the results of his labour thereon.

Experiments were made as early as 1855 near Lovedale, and continued, with very varying degrees of success, until in 1894 the Glengrey Act was passed; and this and the Transkeian proclamations developed from it constitute, according to the last authoritative report, the best adaptation of the European system of rigidly defined individual allotments to the requirements of the native people.

The report mentioned is dated April, 1910, and is the result of the investigations of a small Commission which was appointed some four months previously, with Colonel Stanford, C.B., C.M.G., as chairman. The order of reference required them to inquire into the general working of the introduction of individual land tenure. They suggest technical improvements into which we need not go, but the verdict on the general effect of the system was one of unqualified praise. The concluding paragraph, in which the commission travel beyond the immediate question of land tenure, expresses an opinion on the results of the general policy of the Cape Government on the character of the native people, and is worth quoting.

“Finally, the Commission have to record that from

every quarter they have received most satisfactory reports of the general state and conduct of the native people. That they are remarkably law-abiding is illustrated by the small number of police required for the administration of justice in the Transkeian territories,—besides their own headmen, there is on an average only one policeman to every four thousand of the population. There has been little crime of a serious nature, and the percentage of convictions for drunkenness is extremely low. To their credit be it said, that they invariably respect the persons of European women and children left in their midst. Generally, the native people are rising in the scale of civilization, they are advancing intellectually, and by their loyalty, their obedience to the law, their large share in the industrial life of the country, and their direct and indirect contributions to the public revenue, they are responding worthily to the generous policy of this colony in the administration of native affairs."

The encouragement of Missions and education is certainly a more prominent feature in the policy of the Cape Colony than in other portions of South East Africa. Here, as in Natal, the assistance given by the Government takes the form of grants in aid to the Mission bodies who undertake the work of education. The amount of these contributions per head of the native population is probably six or seven times that of Natal and eight or nine times that of the Transvaal. The liberal policy of the Cape Colony in regard to education as compared with other Governments is thus sufficiently indicated.

To a much greater extent than in Natal, natural conditions have contributed to the segregation of the natives, and made it possible to undertake an experiment in self-government to which reference must now be made, as it is perhaps the outstanding feature of the native policy of the Cape Colony, and, with political representation, forms the differentiation in fundamental principles between the policy there adopted and the rest of South Africa.

In the Transkeian territories there is established by

Proclamation a system of District Native Councils. The various districts into which the territories are divided are not compelled to undertake this form of local government ; it is permissive, and only if they desire it do they come under the provisions of the proclamation. At the present time some fifteen districts have adopted it and with it affiliation to the General Council of the Transkei. The proclamation with regard to the individual title to land and allotment does not run concurrently with the other now under consideration, for whilst fifteen districts come under the proclamation making district councils possible, only four have adopted the allotment scheme.

The District Councils are subsidiary to the General Council, and together they form a scheme for giving the natives a real interest in managing their own affairs and raising and being responsible for the monies necessary to do the work. Their functions are many, covering nearly all the corporate work of any civilized community such as—

The engaging of officers to carry out the various works undertaken by the Council.

Construction and maintenance of all roads, dams, bridges.

Planting and cultivation of trees.

Eradication of noxious weeds and diseases in plants and animals.

Establishment and maintenance of schools.

Establishing agricultural and industrial teaching institutions.

The control of all tolls and pounds.

The construction of furrows, water-courses, etc., so as to ensure a proper and continuous water-supply.

The treatment of infectious diseases.

The prevention of nuisances.

Each District Council consists, in surveyed districts, of four members nominated by the landowners, in unsurveyed, of four nominated by the headmen, and two by the Governor.

The General Council consists of three representatives from each district, two of whom are nominated by the District Council and one by the Governor. The resident magistrate presides over the District Council, the chief magistrate over the General Council, and at the latter attend all the magistrates of the districts which have come under the proclamation. The District Councils meet quarterly, the General Council once a year. The utmost freedom of discussion prevails, native members of the Council express their opinion by vote, but the final decision rests with the chairman, who, in the case of the General Council, consults with the magistrates present. The revenue is derived from a tax levied upon every native man or woman who is the occupier of any separate portion of land or hut within the proclaimed areas.

With a view to adopt, to such an extent as might prove wise, this principle of self-government in local matters, the Government of Natal in 1908 sent a small Commission consisting of the Rev. F. B. Bridgman of the American Zulu Mission and two educated natives, Messrs. Posselt Gumede and Martin N. Lutuli, to visit the Transkei and report thereon. They visited the whole of the territories, investigated the system of land tenure, and were present during the whole of the annual sitting of the General Council. Their Report, considering the importance of the subject, is all too brief, but it is clear they were much impressed with what they saw. They found that the survey and appropriation of land to individuals was appreciated by the natives, as shown in the progressive desire to adopt the system, and were of opinion it tended to better methods in agriculture and life. But, the great revelation to them, was the extent to which raw or heathen natives availed themselves of the opportunity to improve, and especially the keen interest they took in the management of their own local affairs. They say, speaking of the General Council, "viewed as a body there was nothing remarkable about the education or ability of the councillors. There were a few educated

and able men, but as far as could be ascertained fully half the representatives could not read or write. Judging from the confusion, some seemed to be having their first experience in the procedure of voting. As may be inferred from the last paragraph, the majority of the councillors being 'red Kafir' representatives, so of course the vast majority of the ratepayers belong to the raw type. In most of the Council districts there is but a sprinkling of adult natives who can be classed as civilized. It was most difficult to realize that it was the raw native who was supplying the bulk of the £50,000 with which the Council finances its operations, and that therefore it was the 'blanket Kafir' who held the larger share in the proprietorship of the Bhunga, roads, wattle plantations, dipping tanks, agricultural institution with its prize stock, etc. These considerations are all the more surprising when we recall the fact that the proclamation providing for the Council system is, with the land tenure, only permissive, and that the Council system with the 10s. rate only becomes operative in a given district, when the natives of that district express a desire to extend the operation of the proclamation to that area. The deputation was forced to seek an explanation of this strange phenomenon of self-imposed taxation by a people for the most part still in barbarism. But the only answer was the patent fact that the Government was determined to do all in its power for the material, intellectual, and moral betterment of the natives in the Transkeian territories, and the natives, being persuaded that this was the purpose of the Government, have given their co-operation. From observation and inquiry we were convinced that the extent and success, both of the land tenure and Council systems, were directly due to the persuasive measures and tactful pressure exercised by officials, from the chief magistrate down. While the provisions of the proclamation have been proved excellent, they would have been a dead letter but for the philanthropic spirit which has animated their administration."

Pregnant are these last words. I have before pointed out how much depends on the personnel of those administering native affairs ; and of fundamental importance is the spirit in which the work is undertaken. If those at the head of affairs are lukewarm and aim only at peace being kept in their time, this spirit, which has been that of some of the administrations of South East Africa, will permeate the service down to the junior clerks. If, however, the work is rightly regarded as being the most important to which men can give their lives in South Africa, if a high standard is demanded, if scientific inquiry and methods go hand in hand with an earnest desire to do the best for the people, the natives will, with their quick intuition, feel the difference and respond to an extent many have never deemed possible.

Many, outside of the Cape Colony, have said that what is possible in the Transkei is far in advance of what can be done elsewhere, urging the difference in character and stage of advancement of the natives, say in Natal, as compared with the Cape territories. To such, the emphasis laid by the deputation on the fact that the raw native is the principal tax-payer and beneficiary under the system will, I know, come as a surprise. And I would point out that the most advanced of these people were, not long ago, natives of Natal, and are thus spoken of in the report. "Here (in the General Council) were representatives coming all the way from the Kei to the Umzimkulu, but these men were, many of them, far separated in degrees of intelligence and enterprise. For example, the comparatively well-educated thrifty Fingoes, form a constant stimulus to the more ignorant and backward Xosas, Tembus and Bacas." And yet these same Fingoes are the Natal natives who fled into the Cape Colony before the Zulu hordes—the difference is not in character, but has been due to environment. The report of the deputation concluded with an enthusiastic and unanimous endorsement of both the land tenure and Council systems ; the delegates were evidently of opinion that both fitted

into the character and requirements of the natives of to-day, and that both would equally suit their near relations in the country from which the deputation came.

Let us remember that the natives of Natal, who may be regarded as representative of general native opinion outside the Cape Colony, made it clear that their desire was to be free from constant interference, and to be let alone to manage their own affairs. Also that the educated natives of the same province have shown signs which may be interpreted as signifying the same desire, and that, deprived of, divorced from, much that in past time made life full and interesting, the native must, if his life is to be healthy and progressive, have an interest in his existence. That, dissociated from his old activities, the only salutary and satisfactory alternative we can conceive to replace these, is work, and that the work to be of the greatest service to the worker must not be unwilling service, but such as can be undertaken in a spirit of hopefulness; then, the lesson to be learned from the enlightened policy of the Cape Government as carried out in the Transkei is pregnant indeed, and must be a vital force in any policy of United South Africa in the future.

Now we come to the crux of the question, which, more than any other phase of the native problem, divides South Africa. It was perhaps natural that the liberal-minded statesmen of the Cape Colony, to whom both black and white South Africa owe so much for the thought they have given to both legislative and administrative sides of native government, should regard as the coping stone to the structure they were consciously raising, the gift to the native of the power to elect his own representatives to Parliament. Nor is it singular that, impressed with the success which has so far attended the liberal and educative policy adopted, as well as by the conspicuous self-restraint shown by the native elector, and in the absence of the maleficent results which might have been anticipated, many, possibly a majority, of the European electors of Cape Colony favour the

ultimate issue of that policy. Such a view is not, however, shared by any of the Europeans of the other portions of South East Africa, who come into far more intimate relations with the Abantu than the average elector of the Cape Colony. Hardly a single man can be found in Natal, the Orange Free State, or the Transvaal who would consent to an extension of the franchise, as it now obtains in the Cape Colony, to those provinces.

Had the Cape delegates to the National Convention insisted on this, and a vote been taken on the first day of meeting, that day would have seen Union doomed. Realizing this, the National Convention decided to leave the matter as it stood, each province retaining, for the present, the existing laws relating to the franchise, but specially safeguarding the rights of all voters at present on the rolls of the Cape Colony.

There is no colour line drawn there ; the qualifications necessary for a vote are the same for white or coloured or black, and are :—

Age—Twenty-one years.

Sex—Male.

Education—Ability to write name, address, and occupation.

Property—Occupation of building or land or both for twelve months to value of £75, or receipt for twelve months of wages of not less than £50.

Land held on communal tenure or under Glengrey title may not be computed.

At the present time there are about 14,000 coloured, as distinct from white voters, and 8,000 who may be considered as black (Abantu).

This paucity of natives on the roll is a remarkable and noteworthy fact. Potentially, if a little direct effort and organization were brought into play, under the present laws, they hold the destinies of the Cape Colony in the hollow of their hand, and yet, after over fifty years of such possibility, the voters only number 8,000 out of a total population of nearly a million and a half.

A singular parallel may be noted in passing in Jamaica. In that island there is also no colour distinction, the qualifications are extremely easy—the payment of poor rates and taxes of at least ten shillings per annum, or in the case of parish taxpayers of thirty shillings a year, or alternatively the receipt of an annual salary of £50. Yet in 1906 out of a negro and mulatto population of 820,437 there were only 8,607 registered voters. I have never heard any adequate and convincing explanation given to account for this fact in the Cape Colony, nor does the authority I quote for Jamaica, Sir Harry H. Johnstone, in "The Negro in the New World," give any reason for the apparent apathy of the coloured man in Jamaica.

Possibly owing to lack of opportunity, I have never heard any advocate for the present system in the Cape Colony urge that it would be a desirable thing for all the potential political opportunities given to natives by this franchise law to be put into actual operation. Rather, it is generally admitted even there, that for the highest interests of black and white alike, the European must rule, his pre-eminence must be undoubted, the ideals of the white race must be those of the governing powers. Rather, and this to me indicates a consciousness of the inherent weakness of their position, it is argued that there is no danger to the dominance of the white man and his ideals, that in the past his voting power has increased at a much greater progressive ratio than that of the Abantu, and that it is a chimera to think that the latter and his ideals will ever preponderate in the country. This is poor logic; if the principle is right, then all the Abantu people who are qualified should be, not possible, but actual voters, and it would be, not only not blameworthy, but right and just, that organized effort should be directed to get all such on the register and to preach the doctrine of every black man consciously and unceasingly directing his efforts to obtain the same great privilege.

It is not the position as it stands to-day that makes the white man of Natal, Orange Free State, and the

Transvaal absolutely refuse to entertain for a moment any extension of the native franchise. It is more the dread and appalling prospect of the gradual pressure of an overwhelming mass of black voters, perhaps insidiously, perhaps autocratically, swamping him and all the life he has inherited and values, that makes him set his teeth and harden his heart. And the acorn of to-day has in it the strength of the oak. Waves of feeling, impossible to predict, come over the Abantu; we have seen them in the past, and the future holds them in store; a racial awakening to their political possibilities may come, and race conflict as we have never known it in the past may be the fateful issue.

The South African Native Commission of 1903-5 was fully impressed with this view and thus unanimously reported:—

Clause 433. "The native population of the Cape Colony is about one and a half millions, out of which 250,000 are adult male natives and potential voters. The present number of native voters is therefore the merest fringe of the impending mass, and in view of this fact the full magnitude and gravity of the question may be apprehended. A few of the witnesses claimed that full and equal political rights should be granted to all classes of men fulfilling the necessary franchise qualifications, and they urged that anxiety on the score of disproportion might be relegated to the distant future."

Clause 434. "These views are not shared by the Commission, which recognizes that a situation has arisen requiring fair but resolute treatment, a situation not only immediately unsatisfactory but pregnant with future danger."

From a practical experience of nearly thirteen years in the Natal Legislature—from 1897 to 1910 with one short break—I know how little the just claims and the interests of the unrepresented receive attention at the hands of Parliament. The quotations already made from the pages of the report of the Natal Native Affairs

Commission clearly indicate that they also were fully aware of this fact. Too often, the pressure of a score of influential constituents and voters will weigh down, with a representative, the known wants of thousands of the inarticulate and unrepresented. The statute book is eloquent of the detailed attention paid to the wants and wishes of those having power, the indifference with which the grievances of the powerless mass were treated. Each Parliament may contain a few men who feel a due responsibility, who are conscience-struck at the neglect of what appears to them an obvious duty, and who again, resenting the introduction of frequent repressive legislation, attempt the impossible to find themselves in a hopeless minority and often with public opinion running strongly against them.

At times, the only remedy seems to be in full enfranchisement of the neglected, but the dangers in the future attending such a course again make one pause. Equal political opportunity means equal conflict, the weaker must and will be worsted in the fight. The position in the Southern United States is often quoted as a warning, and indeed is, I think, apposite. For between forty and fifty years the negro has nominally had full franchise rights, and yet to-day has no effective say in the Government of the country. Bad enough, but the effect of force and fraud where only reason should prevail is infinitely more disastrous to those who defraud than to the sufferers. I tried to point out in dealing with the claim to "equality of opportunity" put forward by some of the educated natives, that they did not appear to realize how much the Abantu owed to the altruism of the white man in the past years. Guided solely by cold reason and self-interest, he might have exploited and repressed the black man to an extent never experienced in South Africa. Restrained by his sense of right and justice, the position has not been without its brighter side. If equal political rights were given, many Europeans pressed by a sense of race preservation, who now would

follow a lead tending to a further amelioration of the lot of the native, would be hardened and the fount of sympathy would dry up ; coldness, hostility, if not fierce hatred would take its place. As much for the future of my own race as for the Abantu do I dread the intimate contact, and all that will follow, implied by equality of opportunity. But if freed from the dread of a struggle for existence, the presence of a backward people may, if conscience be aroused, be a factor of the highest value in the character development of those who, with tender conscience which they would keep void of offence, realize the duty imposed upon them.

The South African Commission seemed to take this view, for in Clause 444 sub-clause 2 of the report they say that if a modified franchise were given, acceptable to the white race, it would have the beneficial effect of "freeing of all questions affecting the betterment of the natives from any considerations of consequent increase in their political power, and from the resulting hostility to measures conducive to their progress and improvement on the part of many Europeans otherwise friendly to the native cause".

Those who think that to take up the problem of native Government, and try conscientiously to bring nearer some solution of the question as I have put it, to take the responsibility of strenuous endeavouring so to adjust conditions that each race may have the best possible to it, is a light task for the race, had better begin to think it out in detail with conscience for a taskmaster. They will then begin to understand what of self-sacrifice and restraint, as well as of foresight and strenuous toil, will be demanded if we rightly shoulder this white man's burden. That man who heeds not the standards of the multitude, but himself sets the task, has a far sterner duty, must live the strenuous and austere life. And so with the race—far easier would it be to give the black man his chance in open competition ; worsted he would certainly be, but with our victory would come a heavier loss to us.

I know that to many in England and elsewhere, especially those who have never lived among a backward people, this denial of equal political privileges will seem a painful step backward. Many well-wishers to native peoples lay stress on the brotherhood of man, and emphasize the resemblances between all races of mankind and minimize the differences, and they would favour any policy which brought the races together, believing that this would give an opportunity for better understanding, that thus barriers will be broken down, and possibly ultimately mankind will become one great family. I too believe in the brotherhood of man, I think the tendency in the past has been to accentuate differences and to overlook the essential humanity, and I welcome all that would make for better comprehension each of each. But this ideal does not blind me to the fact of to-day. I think our friends, who lay heavy stress on the essential oneness of humanity, are inclined to generalize too widely and attempt to go too fast. Man is not a creature of yesterday, he goes back into the geologic ages ; the primary races are the result of differentiation for possibly hundreds of thousands of years. We must have patience and again patience. What the centuries have in store for us we cannot tell, but I cannot support those who would to-day break down the barriers which have been set up, not by us but by Nature.

But I must get back to more material issues. First I ask, is it possible to conceive that any reasonable proportion of the Abantu, yesterday but savages, with no knowledge of our civilization and what it stands for, beyond what they could see at Mission station or store, could possibly gauge and value the issues calling for judgment? The advocates of native representation compare the illiterate dissolute European with the educated, self-restrained, well-behaved Christian native, and ask whether the latter is not far better fitted to exercise the privilege intelligently and independently than the former. For these individuals we answer "yes" emphatically ; we

are not, however, dealing with individuals but races, and it is not the fact that any fair proportion of black men who can sign their names and earn £50 a year are in the least fitted by character or individual or race experience, to rightly exercise so weighty a privilege. The debauched white man will not, according to the Weismann doctrine of inheritance, transmit to his son his acquired, degenerate traits and longings for the low and unclean; the deeper race characteristics and virtues transmitted through countless generations, these only will he bequeath, and it is possible the offspring of a dissolute and worthless one may count among the flower of his race. So the educated native, restrained by his acquired knowledge and training, cannot pass these on to his son, who will inherit the deeper race characteristics of the Abantu. But it will be said—he again must personally qualify and prove his fitness. Yes—to the extent of writing his name and earning £50 in a year. A flimsy guarantee that he is fit for the heavy and unrealized responsibility some would thrust upon him.

This book will indeed have conveyed a false impression if it has not made clear my high opinion of many of the race characteristics of the Abantu, and my desire for their highest welfare; and that reason, equally with my natural affection for my own race, makes me take my stand with those who cannot see any real or lasting lightening of the load in equal representation.

Alternatives to full representation have been suggested by many, and some of these deserve our careful consideration. Before discussing these, I must indicate what I think is the true road for the native to take in his upward progress at the present time. Emotional and imitative, ever ready to talk and argue rather than to think and work, politics with its incessant talk and intrigue will appeal to him strongly once he has overcome his diffidence and mastered the rules of the game. Given the opportunity, he would be drowned in floods of talk, and think he was achieving, when hard thinking and

arduous work were required. This elementary truth has been realized by Booker Washington, who has sternly set his face against talk, and founded his noble institution on practical work, discipline, and the building up of character. And so here, the native wants interest and hope in life, he must be guarded against his own weaknesses, his interest must take the form of progress along the line of practical progressive work which needs not talk for its realization but labour which will develop character. Not that I would stifle any of his powers—an outlet must, in any wise scheme, be made for the exercise on right lines and at right times, of his love for discussion and debate.

Feeling thus, I am against any form of direct representation, beyond what would give those responsible for native government and administration full opportunity to learn his wants and grievances, which necessarily entails free opportunity for him to disclose them.

Now to an examination of these suggestions.

The recommendations of the South African Commission and the Natal Native Commission are identical in spirit, and are based upon the system in vogue in New Zealand, where the Maories vote apart from the Europeans and elect a definitely limited number of members to the House of Representatives and the Senate; full-blooded Maories though, or half-castes are often chosen. The greatest weight must be attached to the opinion of these Commissions, and it is with great diffidence that I dissent; especially do I need to call upon my courage, for I myself was one of the signatories to the Report of the Natal Commission.

This Commission recommended that the number so elected, should be from one to three for the whole colony, the latter number to be the eventual maximum (the number of white representatives was forty-three). Though the South African Commission did not specify any number, the wording of their recommendation indicates that one member in each colony (now province) was the number they favoured.

Representation is, to the white man, the machinery by which all social and political diseases are cured. The effective use of the remedy is in the hands of the recipients, who must suffer if they do not take full advantage of the implement put into their power. And so, I am afraid that some infinitesimal portion of power having been given to the Abantu, the average white man would congratulate himself on his wonderful political sagacity in finding this way out of the difficulty, and his magnanimity in giving the black man the great panacea, direct representation, and go his way rejoicing and forgetting.

My chief objections to this suggested remedy are that the white man would probably regard the gift as ending his responsibilities, and again that such an amount of special representation, without other machinery, would be quite inadequate to secure, what is imperative, a full and proper attention to native interests.

Both these objections would practically operate in Parliament. The ordinary member of Parliament, whenever a demand was set up for native representation, claimed that, although not elected by them, he regarded himself also as their representative and as having a duty to them. In practice, as we have seen, this duty was lightly regarded, and the interests of the native went to the wall, if European interests or wishes were insistent. Still the recognized, though often lightly regarded, duty of the member to the unenfranchised native could always be advanced as a plea, and if not in conflict with the ideas or expressed desires of those who sent him there, sometimes met with a response, occasionally a generous one. With a member or members in the House elected by the natives, whose specific duty was to look after their interests, the average member would consider his charge to them at an end, and leaving the native representative to look after his special work, would confine himself to what he would then consider his proper and only business. And what could the native member achieve? A voice crying in the wilderness, he might warn the rest of the

members when attempts were made to pass legislation adverse to the interests and desires of his constituents, and he might or might not be listened to. But it would be practically impossible for him to initiate legislation or make a forward movement, he might attempt to secure the sympathy and interest of the Government, but votes are essential to the existence of a Government and he has but one. In a last analysis he would be entirely dependent on the goodwill of the Government and the ordinary members, and there may be drawn the fair inference that, regarding the responsibility shifted from them, it would be more difficult even than at present to secure that goodwill.

Those who ask for the franchise are not the great bulk of the native population of South East Africa. Administration of the kind I have indicated elsewhere—paternal, personal, consistent, continuous, in the hands of men in whom they have confidence, always approachable, men infused with the right spirit, is primarily what is required for and desired by the masses. Once we regained his confidence and trust this would satisfy the tribal native for a long time to come.

When we remember how excessively fond the native is of talking, and the interest he takes in the affairs of himself and neighbours, and yet finding that such a small portion of the eligible natives of the Cape Colony have availed themselves of the privilege of the franchise, it seems paradoxical. I suppose the reason is to be found in the fact that, like other people, they only talk about what really interests them and that is what they understand, and ever ready as they are to discuss in the greatest detail their home life, the cattle, the neighbours, and the tribe, they cannot understand and are consequently uninterested in the tangled politics of the white man. What I think we have to aim at is to give them this interest in what really matters to them, and not prematurely involve them in affairs they do not understand and which would only bewilder and bemuse them.

The few certainly want it, they feel the equal at least of many of the white men they see, and they want all the white man's privileges. I have already tried to show the disabilities a realization of their desires would probably throw on the whole people. Should we for the sake of the ambitions of the few, risk a strife in which the millions would be involved, or if actual hostility was not engendered, a coolness and estrangement which would mean the withholding of all that would elevate, an alienation of sympathy and assistance?

Our sympathy can but go out to many of those who, after stress and strain, have reached a comparatively high level of character and attainment only to find the way they had mapped out barred to them. But is not the true opening for further effort and development to be found, not along the political line with its many risks, but in helping the rest of their people along the path they have already trod? Here is a vast field for activity giving the fullest scope for the exercise of the ability, even the ambitions, of all the advanced people of the native race. We must find opening and scope for the aroused energies of these people, we cannot bar their further progress and leave them smothered in discontent, and unless our native policy does this in some reasonable measure it will be by so much, and this very much, a failure.

Here, as elsewhere in this inquiry, one of the most valuable, nay essential, qualities the investigator must possess, one which he must have in great measure if his work is to stand, is that of detachment from his own personal race view. One cannot obtain it altogether, but the effort must be made to put oneself in the place of the other man. If we try to do so, in this matter of representation, will it not appear that we are reading into the mind, even of the educated black man, what is in our own? The idea of representation as we understand it has been taken from us by him; the further idea that it must necessarily be the goal of his ambition is likewise derived from us—it is what would be natural were we in

his case. But I am not sure that it is natural to him. If the dangers of continuing in this course were pointed out—the danger to him and to us ; and if another, giving scope for his ability, acquirements, ambition was shown, is it not possible that, neither being the outcome of his inherent nature, it might equally appeal to him ?

Another word. It is of the essence of the suggestion of the two Commissions that the modified form of the franchise advocated by them should be final. It might be possible in time for every black man to have a vote, but these votes would only have a definite limited value, possibly an average of only one-twentieth to one-fortieth of the value of the vote of a white man. Would this satisfy those who are now claiming equal rights ? I feel sure it would not, but would only be regarded as an instalment of what was due, as a position gained from which to make further advance. The object, to the attainment of which the educated native would still direct his efforts and ambitions, would be the full franchise, equal rights, equal opportunity.

A suggestion respecting representation was made by Lord Selborne in the address from which I have previously quoted. Basing his recommendations on Cecil Rhodes' celebrated axiom " Equal rights for all civilized men," he would not make any specially defined property or educational test the qualification. The test must be civilization, and the manner in which he would apply it is indicated thus, " I suggest that no stereotyped test will meet the case, and that the only authority who could be trusted to decide such a contentious question truly and impartially is a judge or judges of the Supreme Court nominated by the Governor General in Council for the purpose. To such a tribunal a native might make application for the franchise, and on him would rest the burden of proof to show that by his general standard of living and conduct he was a civilized man. On being satisfied of the civilized habits of the applicant, the judge would order his name to be included in the roll of voters, and that native would

remain a voter for the rest of his life, provided always and of course that he fulfilled the same conditions or qualifications as are enacted in the case of a white man, but the franchise should not descend by inheritance till the third consecutive generation had been reached of enfranchised natives leading a monogamous and civilized existence."

Here is a very moderate and conservative scheme and one that is based on a principle, the principle that it is civilization that should count, and that every civilized man should have a vote. This appeals to me more than the Cape Colony test, which might easily admit a man who, though able to pass both educational and property tests, was essentially unfit. I like it also because it frankly recognizes natural law—that there are racial as well as individual differences, and that, whilst any white man may get the vote practically because of his race, the black man must show that he has eschewed and left behind the grosser habits of his kind. I like it also because under it the black man will know at what he must aim; it will probably satisfy the present educated natives, the bulk of whom would, in all likelihood, acquire the privilege in the immediate future. The position they have taken up is essentially a logical one, they have ever said: make the tests, educational or other, as difficult as you like, we will pass them in time, but make the reward a full one without reservations—to be as the white man. I feel therefore that agitation for further privilege would probably cease for the present and effort be directed to such a course of life as would ensure the boon they covet. It would also mean that the hostility and conflict which seem so inevitable to me if the races become politically equal, would probably be deferred for some time. It would hardly be possible during a period of excitement to add very largely to the electorate at short notice, as might conceivably be the case under present conditions in the Cape Colony.

These are solid advantages which can hardly be

claimed for the present system or for the modified scheme recommended by the two Commissions.

One objection which might be raised, is that the standard of what was regarded as civilization cannot be defined, and would probably vary with the personality and ideas of the successive judges, upon whom the responsibility of passing electors would fall. Conceivably after a series of years, the electors on the roll might be found to include many inferior to others, who, under the stricter demands of a subsequent authority, were denied the privilege. But my objection to it on its merits, or as compared with the New Zealand system advocated by the South African and Natal Commissions, is deeper seated, is what I regard as a fundamental one, in that it makes for the further intermixing of the races on a common plane of life. Whilst admitting that the Abantu, as a race, are uncivilized, it would make them, under certain surface conditions, the political equals of the white race. This ignores the deeper race differences, race ideals, race characteristics, the result of descent and environment accumulating for untold ages, and the attempt would be made to govern and frame the future of the country by two forces, probably antagonistic and utterly dissimilar at the base. The plan has many advantages, as I point out, but to me all schemes which mean the attempted government of the country by black and white together are fundamentally wrong, and will, in process of time, result in disaster.

I have previously pointed out that the black man may have race possibilities of which we have not dreamt ; that no policy for the government of the country, in the best interests of both races, can be deemed to be final ; but to-day, striving to frame a policy to which we can work for the present, I say no extension of the power to elect parliamentary representatives must be given to the Abantu.

A theory for which its advocates claim much, even to the final solution of the native question, has attracted

some attention of late in the Transvaal and Natal. I refer to the doctrine of segregation of white and black, each to have its own area or areas, and in that, work out its race salvation with as little interference or admixture with the other as possible. I have indicated that some such necessity seems to have been felt by the early administrators and legislators in Natal when they, in various ways, made provision for the separation of the natives; and to-day, one of those who was largely responsible for the conduct of native affairs in those early days, Mr. John Shepstone, C.M.G., is a strong and consistent advocate for the policy of segregation.

With the principle underlying this theory I am in complete accord. It must, I think, have been apparent to my readers that as we proceeded in the inquiry, reasons have been gradually accumulating which tend to show that the races must, as far as possible, be separated; that to secure the ethnic value of each and prevent eventual strain, even to breaking, each must live its home life apart.

The white inhabitant of South East Africa, though in many respects shrinking from the close contact with the backward race which is part of his life at present, at the same time is conscious that that life is made easier, with more leisure and greater opportunity for personal advantage, than would be possible in its absence. Seeing also how intimately the native enters into the industrial life of the country, and how dependent we all seem upon him in every phase, he may find it difficult to realize that his true interests may be to limit that contact.

I think too, an impression has got abroad that the apostles of segregation are demanding what is utterly impossible, the theory is supposed to imply absolute segregation of every black man on one side of a given line, and every white man on the other. That this is the ultimate ideal of some of the segregationists seems clear, but some again of those who have committed their ideas to writing, have been more moderate and apparently only

hope to separate the great mass of each race. That the former is at this stage in our existence altogether impracticable it does not take much thought to demonstrate; and thinking that this Utopian, chimerical idea was all that was meant by segregation, the average man dismissed it from his mind, as another fad of the unpractical of which he had heard enough. This I think is a pity, the idea contains a great truth; exaggeration has prevented the acceptance of what the people of South East Africa must yet consciously take to heart, that our national life must be lived as far as possible apart from that of the Abantu people.

How far this is practicable, at this comparatively late stage in our joint race lives, must be subject for an inquiry conducted on scientific methods. At present, it is only natural that opinions should differ. The question has very many sides, and there is no man in South East Africa who alone is competent to pass a matured judgment upon it; and the views one hears expressed are based on inadequate knowledge and inquiry, and biassed by the personal equation and personal interests. I cannot pretend to work it out in all its details and ramifications; it is essentially a subject for long and scientific inquiry, but the great principle I adhere to. The inquiry, so far instituted, has gradually established this principle as one of those that must be at the base of any policy for the future; and as far as may be necessary to co-ordinate it with other basic principles, I propose to make the attempt in the last chapter of this book.

Some writers on segregation have stated there exist three schools of thought or three policies among the people of South Africa in regard to the natives: (1) the one they advocate—segregation; (2) repression; (3) fusion by those who only see blood assimilation of white and black as the ultimate end of the situation. I think it is misleading to call either the repressionists or those who imagine assimilation is the ultimate goal, representatives of a school of thought. The repressionist, actuated by

race pride and race fear, would simply keep down the black man *qua* black man. The believer in final assimilation, with a brown or yellowish-white population taking the place of the pure races, is not justified in taking such a gloomy view of the situation. I do not think those who may be included in these classes have really thought out the subject in all its bearings. I do not, therefore, propose to examine these so-called schools of thought any further.

My object in examining the various policies hitherto adopted, unconsciously or otherwise, by the Governments administering native affairs in South East Africa, was to determine how far we could discover in those various policies, principles we could be justified in making part of the theory of native policy to be formulated. Whilst all differ, even fundamentally, I think we can find something of value in each.

From the Transvaal policy, the great principle that the white man must rule.

From Natal, that our rule of the Abantu should be personal, fatherly, sympathetic, and not rigid and impersonal. And it was recognized by the early administrators that contact between the races should not be encouraged.

It is true that both these principles have been violated in these latter days, and the penalty for the breach of the former has been suffered, while the full consequences of disregard of the latter are delayed for the present.

From the administration of the Cape Colony we learn that we must adopt the principle that the Abantu should be encouraged, under white guidance, to manage their own affairs. And we may also learn, that whilst they should be helped to take an intelligent interest in and manage in their own way matters affecting themselves, they should not be allowed a direct and equal voice in State policy.

From Basutoland that it is possible to have a people contented, prospering, and advancing in material matters under the old customs and tribal rule.

And from both the Cape Colony and Basutoland the value of Mission influence and education.

Yet again from the recent voices advocating segregation a support of the great truth that if the races are to develop on lines which will give each its full and true ethnic value, the points of contact must be as few as possible, the races must live their home and race lives separately.

I think it worth while, in the light of the information we have now got, to ask—What is likely to be the position of the black and white people of South Africa, in say the generation after next, if no change of vital importance is made in the relations of the races, if we just muddle along as has too often been the case in the past? I want to try and cast forward my mind, and project the present with such developments as are likely to take place if we do not alter our course.

The black man, gradually freeing himself from tribal control, and without adequate guidance, comes into the new life, and not knowing or understanding the law he is expected to obey, becomes less law-abiding, as witness the fatal riots on the Witwatersrand this Christmas of 1910, and the recent outbreaks of the Amaleita gangs. If industries are established in the towns, numbers will become town dwellers, probably deteriorating in physique, in manners, and conduct, and certainly in morals, a proletariat, unfitted to undertake the duties of citizenship. In the country the location population will get congested, the land will not respond in perpetuity to the constant and unrequited claims made upon it, and it will be increasingly difficult for the kraal heads to grow enough, even for their own families. The rents to natives on farms not occupied by Europeans will steadily rise, and those residing thereon will become more and more dissatisfied with their lot; in many cases rents will not be paid, with its legal consequence—eviction and distress, and where the evicted will find a home no man can tell. The tenants on farms occupied by Europeans, will find

the land allotted to them straitened by reason of increased cultivation by the owner, and fewer and fewer facilities for life in the old way by agriculture and stock-raising will be given to them. With increasing numbers and diminished opportunities for independent existence as peasant farmers, poverty will increase, and the old independent life will become impossible. How far paid labour at industrial centres will replace this, will depend on many contingencies which cannot be discussed in detail here. The change in environment and manner of life will, I fear, have a great and deteriorating effect on character and conduct. The tendency of the native to incur debt will probably increase with its attendant troubles. The present noticeable extravagance of some of the young men and their disregard of parental authority will not be lessened; the attractions of a town life will draw more and more to the cities, living there by casual work and making another and undesirable factor in a town proletariat. I have pointed out the presence in towns of organized bands of hooligans, the Amaleita gangs. This is a significant sign which has not attracted the attention it deserves. An increase of this class may be predicted, unless conditions are greatly changed. The breakdown of family restraints will allow women and girls to wander, and visit, and remain in populous centres in increasing numbers, and immorality in consequence is likely to increase on the part of casual visitors and permanent residents.

Education, learned at school and picked up by contact and observation, will become much more widespread, a knowledge of the English language is bound to follow, and an overlapping of the poor Europeans by the educated Abantu will ensue. This impingement and overlapping will be largely on the industrial side of life, but possibly, to a certain extent, social intermixture will come to pass. Experience in the Southern United States, according to Mr. James Bryce, shows that the "mean whites" are the class most hostile to the negroes, and

among these people are found the lynchers and law-breakers. Industrial competition would fan race hostility here also, and yet at the same time there might be some social intermixture both lawful and illicit. It would appear that, notwithstanding the race feeling amounting to hatred, blacks and whites work together in the factories, ironworks, and other industries, which have gradually been established in the South. This industrial contact has not, so far, had an effect in diminishing the hostility between black and white.

The increasing knowledge which will make them to a larger and larger extent competitors in industrialism with the whites, will also tend to create race consciousness and race ambitions. No one supposes that the educated natives of Natal and the Transvaal will, for long, view with quietude and complacency the present position, the opportunity for political power given to the Cape Colony native and denied to them, all equally citizens of one country under one flag. A river which may be crossed on foot is to make the difference between a helot and a lawgiver. Dissatisfaction is bound to grow, and if the agitators realize the physical power of millions of their own blood behind them, millions also dissatisfied with their lot, gradually being driven from the life they love to an existence they hate, finding even that existence becoming harder and harder, freed from the restraints they respected, and ignorant of or despising the law which takes its place, the position may become serious indeed.

Miscegenation in Cape Town and many other parts of the Cape Colony between whites and coloured, who there take the place of the Abantu of South East Africa, is becoming very frequent. I do not anticipate that, during the time I am now considering, it will grow to the same extent here, the cleavage between white and Abantu is too deep; but undoubtedly it will increase, and the increase will, as I pointed out elsewhere, probably be of the casual but more vicious kind. But though it may be

more restricted than elsewhere, it will undoubtedly have a serious effect on the moral status of both races.

If so of the black man what of the white ?

I have told already that the present contact has shown signs that make for disquietude in many of those who observe and think over social phenomena. Excepting in a few of an uncommon type, strong, austere, self-helpful, and self-reliant beyond their fellows, the presence of the native connotes an easy, more or less self-indulgent life, which tends to slacken fibre. The tendency alone is visible to-day in the parts more recently settled by the newer population, and who are rejuvenated by new-comers from lands where struggle among equals was the rule of life. But among the older population its tendencies have passed into effects, and they may be seen in the worthless, characterless, indolent poor whites of the remoter bush veldt and the purlieus of the larger towns. As the country develops along the commercial and industrial line which seems inevitable, the struggle for existence will become more severe and some will emerge strengthened and braced, but others, unable to face the sterner conditions, will succumb. This we see all over the modern world ; the difference here will be that the weak before coming to their fall will compete with those of another race, and when they finally go under will lapse into the conditions of existence in which that race exists. If the greatest asset of a nation is the men and women which compose it, if the formation and development of character in these men and women should be the highest and ultimate aim of our private and public activities, if economic development and industrial achievement are only of value as assisting in this greater work, then indeed we need to consider the gravity of the position in South East Africa.

Hitherto, in this country, the problem has ridden lightly upon us,—a sparse white population of exceptionally high original character and ability, plenty of land for black and white, the black man amenable to law and order still under the sanctions and controls of his ancient

race life. Gradually, as I have shown, all is being changed. We are being drawn more into the vortex of modern, industrial, competitive life, the native is altering fast under the novel conditions brought into his environment. The rate of change is bound to become cumulative. What has taken half a century to accomplish may well in the future only take a decade.

I do not think this forecast of what the future will bring, if we persevere on our present lines, is exaggerated. Indeed many of the results likely to happen have probably been underestimated. All the conclusions I have very briefly enumerated may be seen in embryo at the present time, or causes are at present in operation working towards the ends I have ventured to predict, and are detailed in the chapters in which I state the present position of black and white in South East Africa ; for each result, the condition precedent may there be seen.

Of course, these causes may not have the exact effects which just now seem probable. Society is not a matter of atoms and molecules, cells and chemical elements ; the human will and conscience are factors in the problem. Africa, too, is the country of the unexpected, but too often have we trusted to our good fortune to turn aside the coming catastrophe. But, retarded or deflected though the forces may be, no man who is a lover of his race, no man who realizes his duty to the people among whom our life is being lived, can contemplate seriously such a future for both, without the gravest heart-searching.

We must face the problem, its present and its future ; we must realize our responsibilities.

CHAPTER X.

THE ASIATIC AND COLOURED SUB-PROBLEMS.

IN order to prevent a sufficiently complex question becoming still more complicated, I have avoided making detailed reference hitherto, except when dealing with miscegenation, to the presence in South East Africa of a body of coloured people of various races, shades of colour, and degrees of civilization. The great outstanding ethnological feature of the country is, of course, the division into black and white, European and Abantu, and to that I have naturally devoted most of my time and space. Wishing, however, to make the ethnic position, as it is in this first year of Union, complete, I feel I must make some reference first to the Asiatics domiciled in the land, and secondly to the people usually classed as coloured, who always include some measure of European blood in their ancestry. Dwarfed by the magnitude of the native question, the problem of the whole position and relation, present and future, of these two classes in the body politic has not received much serious attention.

Although this may truly be said of the question as a whole, special aspects have claimed, in a spasmodic fashion, the attention of the public, and two phases of the Asiatic question are perennial subjects of discussion in Natal. At intervals, letters appear in the Press calling the attention of the white public to alleged intermixture of coloured children with whites in public schools, and occasionally the competition of skilled coloured artisans is commented on and condemned. The liberality of Government in providing special schools for the coloured, and the obvious injustice and impossibility of preventing

highly skilled specialists, such as are some of the Mauricians, from obtaining skilled employment, has kept these aspects of the question from becoming acute.

The two phases of the Asiatic question which have aroused much attention and discussion in Natal are the advisability or otherwise of continuing the importation of indentured Indian labour, and the trade competition in the retailing business of the Bombay Mahometan trader, the so-called Arab; and to these we will refer in some detail later. But, as I said before, the whole question of the future of the Asiatic and coloured people, their relation to the white man and the Government, has not received attention, only the phases which seem to threaten our economic, industrial, wealth-getting supremacy, have so far interested us. Had we no native question, this problem in its wider aspect would be accounted as sufficiently perplexing in itself, and so it will be in the future; meantime the issues claiming attention have been solely industrial and commercial.

The line of cleavage between the two classes, Asiatic and coloured, is fortunately clearly marked and deep. They differ in religion, language, customs, habits, as well as in race. Although the coloured people among themselves differ widely in many respects, even the Mauricians, who probably have some admixture of Asiatic blood, may be clearly differentiated from the Indian, whether the latter be an immigrant or born in this land. Up to the present there has been little social or sexual intermixture between coloured and Asiatic, the distinct differences mentioned will probably keep them apart in the future. The same may be said in regard to the relations of both with the white race. Between European and Asiatic there is little in common; although residing often in juxtaposition they live their lives apart, socially, seldom mixing even in the lowest stratum of the one and the highest of the other. The distinction is obviously not so clear between European and coloured, and there is here a certain amount of miscegenation, and the bar to social

intercourse is not so high, but, as a rule, the coloured people keep to themselves, and do not associate with Europeans. Without claiming that there are no intermediate and sometimes puzzling links, for all practical purposes the population of South East Africa may be divided into two great races, European and Abantu, and two sub-classes, Asiatic and coloured, and in the majority of cases the differences between them are such as to make it quite easy to distinguish them.

The first Indian immigrants came to Natal in 1860. It seems singular that, with the huge native population even of those days, and the insignificant number of Europeans, it was deemed necessary to introduce labourers from India. But the attitude of the greater number of European colonists in the sixties and seventies towards the Indian immigrant was vastly different from that of to-day. The desire was that they should, after their term of indenture was served, remain in the colony, take up land, and become an integral part of the population. Their industry, thrift, and obedience to law were extolled, and their value to the colony as permanent settlers and producers a theme for leading articles in the newspapers, which read strangely indeed when put alongside the views propounded to-day. For a time immigration was not rapid, the first demand supplied, it remained in abeyance for some years, but in 1874 it was resumed on a larger scale, and every year since then has seen an augmented Indian population, until at present there are about 63,000 free Indians and about 45,000 indentured Indians in Natal, and they considerably outnumber the Europeans in the country. This colony presents the singular economic spectacle of having ten black men who are actual and potential labourers, and one and one-eighth Indians who are actual labourers, for every European, and yet Indians indentured to labour for five years are still being introduced from India. These people are not only employed on the sugar estates of the coast, for which industry they were first introduced, but in nearly every

branch of industry in the colony, and many are employed by the Government and municipalities. It is a singular thing to observe, when travelling in the remote up-country districts, even on the slopes of the Berg, Indian labourers on farms which are surrounded by swarming thousands of Abantu.

As years went by the popular estimate of the desirability of the indentured Indian remaining in the country became gradually modified, and to-day even among those who advocate the continuation of immigration, few openly do so except on the condition that he shall either return to India at the termination of his period of service, or reindenture for another term of five years and then again reindenture or depart. In other words, he shall only be tolerated in Natal as a labourer bound to a term of service; he shall be continuously bonded to the white man or go. To carry this into effect a law was passed that every Indian who did not either return to India or reindenture must pay a special tax of three pounds per annum. This was only intended to apply to men, but the Act was so worded that in practice it was made to apply to women also, and the impost which, considering the status and possible earnings of the people, was far beyond anything demanded from any other section of the inhabitants of the colony even if demanded from men only, worked cruel hardship when applied to women also. Some relief was afforded this year when magistrates were empowered to free deserving Indian women from the impost. Harsh and drastic as this special class legislation must be deemed, in justice to the Legislature it may be said that the tax was not imposed in a spirit of greed, but with the sole object of preventing a permanent increase of the Indian population, and indicates the change of sentiment which has come with the passing years.

What was claimed by the early advocates of Indian immigration has been proved in large part by our experience of the lives and habits of these people. They have been law-abiding, industrious, frugal, and have largely

increased the agricultural production of the country. It is not their shortcomings or vices which have caused the change in European public opinion; it has rather been due to their virtues. Although they have not, to any great extent, become artisans except in one or two of the less skilled callings such as that of tinsmith, they have undoubtedly made it more difficult for some of the poorer and only partly skilled Europeans to find suitable and congenial employment, especially in depressed times. Many rented or bought small areas of land which had been cultivated by European farmers or sugar growers, and tempted these either to let their farms to them at high rentals, or sell and clear out of the country districts to the towns or the inland States. The general effect has been to accentuate the position of the Europeans as an oligarchy, and to increase rather than diminish the disabilities he has to encounter in any endeavour he may make to establish a virile self-helpful race in South East Africa.

Those who desire to continue Indian immigration, whilst deprecating any increase to the permanent Indian population, ask what possible argument can be urged against their introduction as labourers only, who must be repatriated at the end of their term, if they decline any further bonded service. They view the matter only from its economic side, and when asking the question disregard the wider issues. These same interrogators will, at public meeting and dinner, urge the desirability of increasing the white population, make laudatory references to the other large self-governing colonies, and urge us to emulate them in building up a new nation which shall be one of the brightest jewels, etc., in the British Crown. Can they not see that the two things are incompatible and in their very nature contradictory? The essential and fundamental difference between South Africa and the countries they so freely quote and desire us to emulate, is the presence here of a black proletariat, necessarily limiting the numbers of the white race, and

making a condition of things which tends to a weakening of the race fibre in those who do come. Do they not see that the introduction of every man who adds to that proletariat, whether native or Indian, bond or free, makes the position more difficult for those who take the long view and look beyond the economics of the day to the future of their race? Possibly not, or if they do the interests of the day weigh too heavily in the balance.

The instincts of the mass of the Europeans are sounder, and though the reasons given for opposition to the policy of continued Indian immigration are too often also short-sighted and selfish, at base is the unconscious feeling that any strengthening and accentuating of the present position is a race danger.

I feel, too, that though there are some who realize that it is our imperative duty to face and consider the native question in all its complex bearings, the majority will only be induced to give it any attention if it is forced on them by economic stress for economic reasons. Whilst the employers of manual labourers could rely on low-priced labour, bound to them absolutely for five years, to be simply renewed by fresh requisitions as the time expired, the native question might remain unconsidered. But this supply cut off, their indifference would be transformed into anxiety, and from such an awakening we can certainly hope for more than from the apathy born of easy conditions.

The Indian immigrant has other virtues than those already mentioned. One strongly developed characteristic is a desire to give his children education and with it opportunities to gain a higher material and social position. It is quite a common thing to see an old and toilworn Indian couple, unable to speak any language but their own, living in the most frugal, indeed miserable fashion, with bright, intelligent, well-dressed children, able to speak good English and with considerable book-learning. Often less industrious than their parents, these latter take employment in the less arduous callings, as

waiters, cooks, drivers, office boys, etc. They seem addicted to change, and some take up one calling after another with intervals of idleness; others, still less industrious or unable to find employment which they think equal to their acquirements, lead an idle and vagrant life. They copy the European in many of his ways, in clothing, speech, such pastimes as football, cricket, pedestrianism, even pugilism being favourite recreations or occupations. In the latter they often find support and backing among Europeans. The literary education they receive tends to inflate their self-importance and is calculated to unfit them for any of the more laborious callings which are alone open to any number of them; often adepts at penmanship and with a certain facility of expression, they attempt to obtain clerkships in mercantile houses, but public opinion bans their employment along with the European clerks. With little hope of obtaining the occupations they desire, and with a repugnance for agricultural and manual labour, their position is an invidious one, and one which should command the attention of the authorities. Could not the education they receive be modified and reformed with a view to fit them for callings, such as agriculture, which are open to them and in which they would find the opportunities for lack of which they are in such an awkward and hopeless condition? Meantime they drift into the towns and suburbs, and form a factor in our social welter which, as it increases, may cause some anxiety in the future. It is so far fortunate that they keep a group apart, and do not involve themselves with any of the other races and problems, and we can consider them and their future as part of the Asiatic sub-problem.

It is worthy of note that the example of the Indian coolie who becomes a landowner, growing varied crops under an intensive system of cultivation, sometimes amassing comparative wealth, has, like the example of the European, had little effect on the native. He sometimes lives in the close neighbourhood of the Indian, and

though in a few cases copying his better methods, usually does not condescend to follow the example of the alien, but continues, in somewhat incongruous surroundings, to live the home life of his fathers.

A few words now of the commercial class who came originally from Bombay, who are Mahometans, are entirely engaged in commercial pursuits, and are commonly in South East Africa miscalled Arabs. Originally following the Indian coolie, whose trade requirements they thoroughly understood, they soon realized the lucrative nature of the retail native trade, made a study of it, and within a few years captured the bulk of it from the Europeans. From this they advanced to cater for Europeans, and they now do a very considerable trade with the farmers in the country districts all over Natal, and with the artisans and other Europeans in the towns.

At one time it almost seemed as if they would still further advance and prove a serious competitor with the European for the large and valuable wholesale trade of the colony. Their opportunities, especially during the early days of Johannesburg, were very great, they were on the spot when the Witwatersrand was in the making, and when fortunes were easily amassed at store-keeping. Some wholesale stores for supplying the retailers of their own race were started in Durban. Born traders though they are, and quite able to compete with the European in a small way of business in which economy and constant attendance are important factors, they seem to lack the ability and qualifications necessary to manage a business on a large scale, so that, whilst holding their own as retailers, they have practically failed to implement their opportunities as wholesale merchants. The European merchant firms in the large towns supply these Arab retailers, often giving them long credit and what practically amounts to financial support.

The great mass of the European colonists view these Bombay traders with great disfavour. It is pointed out that these Bombay traders have made impossible for the

white man the old calling of Kaffir storekeeping by which scores or hundreds made a comfortable and easy living in past times. This argument is regarded as a final and conclusive reason why the Indian trader should be discouraged, and any legislative enactments placing special disabilities upon him are, by this, condoned or justified. After a long acquaintance with the kind of life entailed upon those who supply the wants of the native, especially in far-away and remote districts, I am not persuaded by this final argument. I know of some who lived isolated lives as storekeepers among the Abantu, and who brought up families who hardly saw an unfamiliar white face, families who have been and are a credit to the country, but it was not always so, nor was it to be expected from the premises. The very fact of his catering for the wants and desires of the members of an inferior race placed the white man in a false racial setting. He expected deferential and respectful treatment, his colour superiority and privileges must be recognized by the Abantu among whom and by whom he lived. And much to the credit of the black man it may be said that, notwithstanding the relative positions of the parties, such claims or assumptions were generally conceded. But the white man was, after all, there in the position of one asking favours or seeking clients from whom he expected benefits, and the black man knew it, and his behaviour and conduct, though it might not be contumacious, was that of one for the time being in the superior position. Doubtless the native also benefited by the presence of the storekeeper, he disposed of his hides and mealies and had desirable goods brought to his door; but he knew perfectly well his value as a customer and it coloured his attitude to those seeking his trade, and there was a difference in his bearing towards the white man who was independent and the white man who desired and sought for his pecuniary goodwill.

Perhaps this did not much matter in the case of a single man of mature age, whose character was formed, and who could resist the temptations incident to the situation.

But some of the storekeepers were married men, their wives or daughters spoke the native language, and they either regularly or at intervals stood behind the counter of the store, often crowded with naked natives of both sexes, who feeling that it existed for their convenience, although respectful, were not delicate nor restrained in language or behaviour; again often the management of a small store, far away in the location, was in the hands of a youth or young man. The life was unlaborious, exceedingly monotonous, but requiring personal attendance all the time. Days, even weeks might pass without a white face being seen, but he was in constant intimacy with the Abantu living all round. Troops of laughing unrestrained girls came constantly to the store and, what might be predicted, too often happened, and the isolated one became for life a white Kaffir. In Zululand, Pondoland, Swaziland, the conditions are still present; in Natal the competition of the Indian trader has made them less frequent of recent years. Whether for good or ill depends on the point of view; the general opinion is that the Bombay trader has stolen the privilege of the white man and done him a grave disservice. Financially, Yes; racially I cannot say Yes with emphasis, for I know that this point of contact meant danger to both races. One other point must be scored to the credit of this Indian trader. As a Mahometan he is an abstainer from intoxicants and, keen trader as he is, does not pander to the cravings of the native for strong drink. In this respect a much worse man might have replaced the European.

But the ordinary man does not consider this side. They furnish a concrete case of the displacement of the white man, and he cannot condone it. Yet it is the white man who gives them credit and financial support, he sells or rents to them eligible store sites and gives them other facilities; it is the white man, both in town and country, who, in many cases, makes their continuance possible by becoming a customer.

With all this, through the Legislature he endeavoured

to reduce their numbers and hoped by refusing to grant any more licences, and gradually eliminating those at present held, to get entirely rid in time of the Indian trader. Some of the legislation passed to this end was advanced by specious argument, and it would be difficult to defend it on the score of justice, and the violation of conscience engendered by this course of action has been felt by many in the colony, though any defence of these men was exceedingly unpopular. It followed on the false step of introducing Indian coolies, which has directly and indirectly committed South East Africa to many social difficulties, and led to action, apparently dictated by motives of self-preservation, which could not be justified. It has been a case of taking the lower road, the line of least resistance, which, though apparently at first clear and open, leads invariably into jungle and morass. The gods will not be deceived.

At the present time the Indian population is much agitated owing to the action of the Transvaal Government towards the passive resisters of the law there. I do not propose to enter into the merits or demerits of that question, but I think the brief recital of the history of the Asiatics in South East Africa which I have given indicates the necessity for some further and more effective protection of their interests than there is at the present time.

For many years after Indians formed part of the population of Natal, there was no political discrimination made against them. They did not evidence any great desire for representation, but a number of them, especially the Bombay trader class, were registered in the usual way as electors. In the nineties, however, a very strong popular agitation was got up among the Europeans against the admission into the colony of any more free Indians, and whilst the fervour was on the Government was pressed to bring in an Act which practically prevented any more Indians becoming voters, the new law providing that no resident of Natal shall be eligible as

an elector unless he came from a country enjoying similar representative institutions to those of the colony. The Indian names on the roll have remained, none have been added, and they are negligible as a political power.

Our relations with, and treatment of, these people in the past, is not a page of our history of which we can be particularly proud, and I do not want to dwell on it further. It is time, however, that our relations were settled on a basis fair to them and understandable to us. Like the native they vary greatly in intelligence, education, general ability, character, the lowest (notwithstanding their ancient civilization) much on a par with the kraal native, and certainly far below many of the Amakolwa, the highest, in certain respects, surpassing some Europeans. The position is much the same as that of the native in this respect. Whatever may be the accepted theory about our common Aryan descent, they are really as far apart from us as is the native in speech, religion, habits, ideals,—a race totally apart with whom we can never assimilate. Fortunately, they too have evinced no desire for closer contact ; if they are allowed to make a living without disabilities being imposed on them they are quite willing to do so apart from us, as far as may be. And I think they should be so treated. The line of demarcation between Indian and European, Indian and native, Indian and coloured is clear, and should be kept clear. We cannot attempt separation as I have shown I desire in the case of the native ; their livelihood and modes of living are too much bound up in our civilization ; they are now too much a part of the body politic to make it possible. But no attempt should be made to break down existing barriers. Separate schools should be provided as at present. I would not advocate that they should be given the franchise on the same basis as Europeans.

Were they alone with us in the country, the position would be different, but we must consider each factor in the body politic, and regulate our policy and actions in

the interest of, and with regard to, the position of them all. To admit the Indian to the franchise and exclude the native, would certainly not be just to the African, the son of the soil, who as such would consider himself to have, at least, equal claims with the interloper. To refuse any representation means, as I have shown in the case of the native, and as must be apparent to all who know the position of the Indian in Natal, neglect of their interests and on occasion harsh or inconsiderate treatment. I would advocate the appointment of a body of representative Indians who would be the equivalent of the district pitsos of the natives. They should meet at least once a year, and the expressions of opinion and grievances voiced should be recorded and further considered by a small council of Europeans who should be to the Indian community what the European Native Affairs Council is to the native population. The Indian Council should advise Government of the desires and complaints of the people ; their opinion should be formally placed before Parliament before any legislation affecting the Indian population was considered, and representatives of the Council should have a right of speaking before the Houses of Parliament on any such contemplated legislation. The Prime Minister, who should undertake no other portfolio, should be the minister for Indians as well as natives. The highest in the land should be responsible for the general human interests of all who live in it. I advocate this course, because we have here a distinct cleavage of race, and I am, before all else, desirous of preserving our race integrities. Also because we ought to make the position of these people clear, and it will be far better for us to face it fairly than to juggle with it and with our consciences as we have done in the past. My policy is, no more Indian immigration free or indentured ; fair treatment, to be clearly laid down, to those who are already in the country.

An observant visitor to Natal from Cape Town or other part of the Western Province of Cape Colony is

invariably struck with the preponderating number of natives and the presence of Asiatics in the country, and not uncommonly feels pity for those who must live surrounded by barbarism, or the representatives of a civilization alien to their own, and wonders how the problem of such heterogeneous elements living in one land can be solved. Equally, to a Natal resident visiting Cape Town the mixed coloured population of that city and neighbourhood is a feature that deeply impresses him. He sees a mixture of races to which he is quite unaccustomed. Hottentot, Bushman, Mozambique black, Malay, and other peoples from the Far East, liberated slaves from West and East, Abantu, and European all fused, in varying proportions, to make the coloured Cape people of to-day. At one end of the scale he sees men and women almost white, well educated, well spoken, well dressed, courteous and restrained in manner, and at the other end of this colour scale some whom he considers inferior to the ordinary native or Indian coolie of his home. He hears that it is quite a common thing for the European immigrant introduced for railway and mechanical work to marry, even to prefer to marry, women of colour, and is told that at the other end of the scale there is reinforcement from the black side. He sees a toleration of colour and a social admixture to which he is quite unaccustomed ; it is evident in the streets, on the tramcars, in the railway stations, public offices, and in places of entertainment. Should he take a walk in Plein Street on a fine Saturday evening he will witness a sight impossible in an Eastern town such as Durban or Pietermaritzburg. The street is crowded, footway and roadway alike full of strollers, all shades and all colours, but, generally speaking, all neatly dressed and all well behaved. As a rule whites and coloured people keep apart and do not mix, but there are very many exceptions ; he will, for instance, not infrequently see cases corroborative of the miscegenation between the races of which he has been informed. Young white men will be seen walking with

well-dressed coloured girls, and an older European may often be seen with coloured wife and children of varying shades, taking the air, and gazing in the shop windows. The doors of a Bioscope entertainment are open, and the crowd waiting admission and jostling each other as they get tickets, includes representatives of every colour from the light-haired fair complexioned Scandinavian sailor or English workman to the sooty-black of the Shangaan, and if he enters the overcrowded room and braves the foetid atmosphere, he will find no distinction made, all and any colour occupy the same seats, cheek by jowl, and sometimes on each other's knees.

The problems of South East Africa struck the Western Cape colonist as complex beyond his comprehension ; this problem of the Old Cape Colony makes the visitor from the East wonder what is to be the end of this, to him, kaleidoscopic and bewildering intermixture of those he has regarded as set apart by a law of Nature, and he is probably thankful that, great though his racial difficulties are, they still are primarily racial, the races have not broken down into an indistinguishable welter. It is the knowledge of the position over considerable areas of South West Africa, the Cape Peninsula and areas adjacent, which forces from some the prediction that the future population of the country will be neither white nor black but shades of yellow and brown, that the extremes will be gradually absorbed in the dusky central mass. The question is one of great scientific interest, and an inquiry into all its aspects would be most valuable, and is one that should be undertaken by some one thoroughly familiar with the people and country in which these social phenomena can best be studied.

We too have the coloured question in South East Africa, but the coloured population is insignificant, and the problem by so much less insistent, than in the Cape Colony. The principal groups who are neither European, Abantu, nor Asiatic are immigrants from the island of St. Helena and their descendants, Mauritians, Cape boys, and

half-castes between European and Abantu. According to the Natal census of 1904 the St. Helenas numbered 1150, the Mauritians 1232, English and Dutch half-castes, who may be taken as being the first cross, 871 and 208 respectively, and Cape Colony and other half-castes, who are probably in the majority of cases of much less simple descent, 1765.

The St. Helenas are principally town dwellers and are engaged largely in store work and kindred occupations; they live as Europeans, and English is their language. The Mauritians speak French as their mother tongue, but nearly all speak more or less English; many are employed as skilled specialists in sugar production, others as artisans, and others on the Government railways. The Cape boys are scattered over the colony, engaged on farm work, as drivers and handy men. Practically all the first two groups, and most of the Cape men, live a life similar to that of their European neighbours. They have nothing in common with the Abantu, whom they engage as domestic servants like their neighbours; their aims and ideals are those of the white man. They are not denied the franchise, and socially they keep apart; the members of each group are sufficiently numerous to form a society of their own. As they are good citizens in every sense of the term, and their numbers are small as compared with the total white population, they do not constitute a serious problem in South East Africa. A real practical difficulty is that the Cape boy grades into the half-caste who is the offspring of white man and native woman, and the latter is often a native in the eye of the law and subject to the class legislation specially affecting natives. It is, in my opinion, both just and politic to give these people the same status as Europeans. There is a certain amount of prejudice against them, but most of the questions which arise can be met by tact and judgment, and some of these people are of such a character that their personality and conduct attenuates or removes the prejudice in their case.

I should say that the Europeans object to share their schools with the children even of these highest coloured classes, and that separate schools have been established by Government for the coloured people. Distinctions are recognized and prejudices are present among themselves, for the Mauritians refuse to send their children to the school open to all coloured pupils, and rather than do so have, in Durban, opened one or two schools of their own. The education they can command is much inferior to what they could get at the Government Coloured School; but rather than mix with some other sections of coloured people they are willing to accept a poorer educational standard for their children.

The Natal half-castes differ from any of the other groups, and deserve, in an inquiry such as this, a little more detailed attention. A large number, perhaps a majority, are the descendants of the very early European settlers, who espoused native women, sometimes marrying them according to Christian rites, but generally by native custom. At that time there were but few European women in the country, and the establishments thus set up were in accordance with native ideas, and appear to have been sanctioned by such European public opinion as there might have been at that time. They were not regarded as merely temporary attachments, but were in truth marriages with responsibilities on both sides. The father, who was the party to the contract most likely to evade his duties, appears to have acknowledged and carried out his obligations to wives and children. The latter bore his name, and to-day they and their offspring bear the surnames of some of the best known of the early settlers.

These people all live in the country districts, on the land, usually in the districts in which they were begotten, and form a class apart from black and white alike. It would be wrong to say there had been no subsequent connection with either of the original races, but in the greater number of cases they live their own social life,

and unite in marriage with their own people ; few are the cases in which they revert to the black house, and they are almost universally monogamists.

There is a widely accepted theory that the result of a union between white and black, or indeed between white and any coloured and backward people, is a breed which seems to combine all the weaknesses and vices of both parent stocks and none of the virtues of either. This does not seem to me to apply in the case of these Eur-africans. Physically they are a fine people, in some cases with a colour and complexion distinctly attractive, not the sickly yellow of many other half-breeds, but a light brown with a tinge of red ; both men and women often large, robust, well set up, with a tendency to corpulence, and with good features. They do not often display the energy and will power of their fathers, but to some extent this is due to lack of opportunity, their undefined status and anomalous position, and the deadening influence of their narrow and restricted environment. In any case they do not substantiate the somewhat cynical generalization I have quoted, for their general conduct is good, and they do not seem to have any specially vicious tendencies.

Another charge which is levelled against half-castes, and indeed coloured people generally, is that they are much more loose in morals than either of the original constituent races. Some extenuating circumstances must be remembered. Too often they are the offspring of temporary or illicit unions formed only on physical attachment, without any of the motives coming into play which make for the highest among ourselves, or at best, the physical enters much more largely into the impulse than is usually the case in marriage between Europeans. The probability is that this does react in some measure on the character of the children begotten of such a union. But assuredly the people we are now considering have stood fast against the greatest temptation of all, to lapse into the black mass all around them, and particularly to

resume the habit of polygamy recognized and practised by one side of their ancestry.

Unfortunately, all the half-castes do not belong to these settled families, stronger than others in that they had the recognition of their white fathers. There are some waifs and strays who become a burden on the mother's house, and who, though probably with racial characteristics, instincts, impulses, and desires transmitted from the father's side, have only the environment and opportunities of the black man. If the difficult and anomalous position of those in the best case excite our sympathy, far more those who have not the society and support of those like unto them.

Mr. P. A. Barnett, in his address on "Problems and Perils of Education in South Africa," to which I have already made reference, takes rather a gloomy view of the character and ability of these people. I do not think he has sufficiently realized the hopelessness of their lives and its deadening influence on character. Surrounded in every case by huge masses of black barbarism, without education, literary or industrial, in an anomalous position, scorned by the white and suspected by the black, with tendencies and aspirations they must feel but which are only born to be stifled, what could be expected? Sympathy, encouragement, hope and an outlook would make a vast difference. Cheering instances, though naturally infrequent, do actually occur. The son of a white man who married a Zulu woman by Christian rites acquired a primary education under considerable difficulties. To somewhat ease the strain of his immediate surroundings he went to the Cape Colony, and got a position as junior teacher in a country school. Whilst working there, he continued his studies and entered for the Cape University Matriculation Examination, which he passed. He went on with his studies, working all the while, and then entered for the Intermediate Examination of the same University. He not only passed, but won a bursary, which entitled him to a scholarship of between

£80 and £90 a year for four years at one of the University Colleges of the Cape Colony. He travelled hundreds of miles to the college at his own expense, and presented himself at the doors, only to be refused admittance. Deeply depressed but not daunted he ultimately found admittance to another of the colleges affiliated with the university, but in another part of the colony ; here he pays his own way, working for a degree in law. The curious may draw several deductions from this incident, I confine myself to the one : there are half-castes and half-castes.

If all these people were of the settled, organized, self-contained class to which I first referred, the position would be much simplified. But we cannot ignore the fact that there are some unfortunates who, largely from the nature of their environment, are far below the rest in the scale of civilization and attainment. The law itself is in a hopeless muddle about the status of many. Whilst there is no practical difficulty in everyday life in recognizing a native, what constitutes a native in the eye of the law has been the subject of legal controversy, with varying judgments and subsequent complications, which seem to baffle lawyer and laymen alike to straighten them out.

In Natal, under the law to extend and define the meaning of native, Griquas and Hottentots are expressly excluded. In other statutes, current at the same time, these people came under the definition of native.

In the Transvaal, native includes coloured person, and coloured person may mean such different races as Hindoos, Chinese, American negroes, and persons from St. Helena. It is again defined as a person either of whose parents belong to any of the aboriginal tribes south of the equator.

The net was spread wide in the Orange Free State, for coloured person, which includes natives, was there defined to include all who in accordance with law and custom are called coloured persons, of whatever race or nationality they may be !

To this welter of confusion both the South African

and Natal Native Commissions were instructed to give their attention, and the duty devolved on them of defining what was to be meant by the word native.

The former passed the following preliminary resolution apparently simply to clear the ground for their inquiry.

"For the purposes of this Report the word native is used by the Commission in the sense accepted in the several British Colonies and possessions in South Africa."

Considering the many and various senses in which the word is used and has been defined, this is rather naive, but anyone who has himself attempted a definition will extend his sympathy to the Commission in their dilemma.

They, however, subsequently go further, and in clauses 73 and 74 go on to say: "There, however, the matter did not end, for it appeared of the utmost importance to proceed further and suggest a broad definition for future adoption. This is admittedly a most perplexing problem. It is notorious that a great deal of racial intermixture has taken place, and many of the so-called coloured people have by their industry, intelligence, and self-respect raised themselves to a high standard. In coming to a conclusion, due weight was given to the circumstances under which many have attained their present worthy positions, which it is not intended to disturb. But there should be a basis upon which the colonies shall approach each other with a view to a common understanding. The Commission recommends:—

"That the word native shall be taken to mean an aboriginal inhabitant of Africa south of the Equator, and to include half-castes and their descendants by natives."

This would mean in Natal that a half-caste born in Christian marriage, living a civilized life, speaking English, the husband of one wife, a law-abiding and progressive citizen, would come under native law which he might not understand, and be subject to all the class legislation and disabilities under which natives labour.

Consider the complications likely to ensue. I will

only adduce two. Many others will occur to those who know the position. A half-caste is a native under native law, he must of necessity enrol himself under a chief as member of a tribe, he is denied the use of liquor, cannot possess or carry firearms, has no vote, has to take out an identification pass before he can seek work, a pass if he wishes to go out of the colony, a pass to be out after 9 p.m. in towns; he may legally possess a plurality of wives and living rights in a location. He marries a half-caste like himself and is satisfied with her alone. If I read the conclusion of the Commission aright his children not being 'descendants of half-castes by natives' are Europeans. These children I take it are not any nearer to Europeans in blood relationship than is he; they may be the father's particular shade, or lighter, or darker. Mixed breeds have notoriously a tendency to revert in the most unaccountable and apparently erratic fashion to their ancestors, often their remote ancestors, on either side. A father, and his son—who may look much more like a native than his father, but both of whom are half-castes—go out together. The son may call in a canteen and have a drink, the father must stay outside; the father must take out innumerable passes, the son goes where he will unfettered; the son parades the streets of a town all night, the father must rush to shelter at what time the bell tolls nine!

In one part of the South African Union, now one common country, the Transkeian territories, it is possible for a pure-blooded native who may live in a hut, wear only a blanket, paint his face, and be a polygamist, to obtain the franchise and be in the eye of the law as is a white man. In another part not far distant, the province of Zululand, a man, half of whose blood is European—indeed he may be in still larger proportion of European descent; whose education, conduct, and mode of life are altogether removed from that of the natives; who is educated and who educates his children; who would pass any standard of civilization likely to be applied, is accord-

ing to the law, a native, subject to all the disabilities I have so frequently mentioned, and the common tribesman of a chief who lives in a hut and whose only clothing is a skin about his middle. This is actually the position in the Union of South Africa to-day. If the definition of the South African Commission became law, no relief would be given to such a man, he must remain rooted to the spot on which he lives, unable to change, if even for another place in the location, without the permission of a chief, without any title in reason to exercise such autocratic power over another in every respect his immeasurable superior.

I cannot accept a definition which will work such injustice, and rather than do so would open the door to some who might possibly not be fitted for any other law or life than that of the native. Numerically these are few, and our object should be to raise the few to the status of the many and again improve on that. The intent of the Commission was doubtless to penalize lapses back into barbarism, but a more generous treatment would do more to prevent backsliding than the policy of punishing a few offenders.

I prefer the spirit of the conclusion to which the Natal Commission came, which is as follows :—

Clause 60. "A definition has been attempted in one way or another by some seven or eight statutes with a resultant conflict of opinion and confusion of ideas as to what persons or classes fall within the definition given. The object of these attempts has been to declare, not only those who are subject to native law, but also those who, being outside the domain of that law have been placed under certain restrictions in the use of liquor, the supply of firearms, and the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise. The question is, therefore, not without its difficulties, as racial, legal, personal, and political considerations are involved. Its bearing upon those who should and should not come within the operation of native law has received the most attention, and it was resolved to recommend

that only those who are racially and of full consanguinity connected with some African tribe, following the tribal system, accepting polygamy and the rule of a chief, or any one of these customs or conditions of life, should be placed under native law. This proposition is intended to be far-reaching in its effects, as it not only affords a clearer exposition of the term than any others which have been attempted, but it is expressly designed to release that large body of intelligent and respectable persons known as half-castes from the operation of the law, and from which they have been desirous of freeing themselves for years. As a rule they are monogamists and conform their lives to civilized usages, and their aspirations, notwithstanding many drawbacks, are impressively towards the legal position of the 'white father,' objecting to be thrust down to the level of the 'black mother'. The exceptions to the general emancipation of this class would be the few who, with the sanction of native law, under which they have been living (forced to live), have contracted polygamous marriages. These being known, could, if necessary, be registered as exceptions to the general liberation of the rest. There are already a considerable number of this class who are the offspring of legal marriage, and these associate with the majority who have sprung from irregular or unknown unions. The foregoing remarks apply more particularly to the majority whose position is most anomalous. Contemned by the European and distrusted by the native, moral duty and political expediency alike demand that the representations which appear in the evidence should be generously entertained. To give effect to this recommendation would be a simple yet skilful diplomatic move, and it would not injure the community if they were also freed from the disabilities regarding the use of liquor and firearms. A considerable number of them have, rightly or wrongly, been on the voters' roll, a fact that intensifies the confusion regarding their legal status. There are many of the same mixed origin from the Cape Colony, Mauritius, and

St. Helena who have never been deemed in any sense to be under native law, and it is strongly urged that the time has come when all who attune their lives according to those of the dominant race should live under the same laws and exercise the same privileges. In laws imposing disabilities the classes intended to be brought within their operation should be specifically named without attempting therein to define the term native."

In so far as this clause will apply to full-blooded natives I have dealt with it elsewhere. Unjust and impolitic alike is the attempt to keep the mixed group to the lower status from which they are so anxious to emerge, and all the privileges and responsibilities of the white race should be theirs by reason of consanguinity. Some few unworthy would be included, but I am indeed mistaken if the higher status they would then assume did not prove a barrier and bulwark against barbarism.

This would of course mean that they would have the vote and exercise it along with those of their fathers' kin. There would then be a clear demarcation between them and those they had left, and in all but colour with its inevitable social distinctions they would be with the white man. If we accept this doctrine it should be whole-heartedly, and the disadvantages and disabilities to ourselves should never be dwelt upon.

I am not therefore in favour of Lord Selborne's recommendations made in the address I have before quoted, imposing certain special tests on these people before they obtain the franchise. Half-measures will not satisfy, full recognition will be a powerful lever to upraise them, a stimulus to which the majority will respond.

Lord Selborne, making civilization the test for representation, logically demanded that those who formed a group which included some who perhaps could hardly be called civilized should prove their fitness, and thus spoke: "I maintain that the wise and just policy is to give the coloured people the benefit of their white blood, not to lay stress on the black blood, but to lay stress on

the white blood, and to make any differentiation between them and the whites the exception and not the rule. It follows from this expression of opinion that I would give the coloured man the franchise on the same terms as the white man, but I would insist upon his first passing the same test of civilization as I have suggested in the case of the native. Such a test is absolutely necessary, because there is a proportion of the coloured population which has reverted to the type of their uncivilized ancestry, and that proportion must be excepted from any share in the government of the country. The test would be no hardship and carry no indignity to the coloured men who would be able to show they had led a consistently civilized life in no way differing from that of the white man of corresponding station. Once a coloured man had passed this test then the qualification for the franchise on equal terms with the white man should descend by inheritance and without a renewed test to his sons unless he had been so foolish as to marry an uncivilized native woman."

In practice I think this would prove unworkable in South East Africa. Certainly the Mauritians, St. Helenas, and others in South East Africa who would fall into this category and who cannot revert to the practices of barbarian ancestors, for they know them not, would resent the implication bitterly. So also would a large number in the Cape Colony. To the half-castes of South East Africa, the Eur-africans, there is present a temptation to revert, but when not isolated among Abantu and when there is an incentive to stand fast, I do not find they yield readily. Their numbers too are limited, and becoming an integral part of a community civilized and overwhelmingly white, pursuing a policy tending towards the differentiation of black and white, the ambitions of these people might be trusted to uphold the ideals of the race to which they aspired. The generous policy is here, I think, the wise policy ; we want to bind these unfortunate relations of ours to us, and not force them into the ranks

of those who, though related to them, are separated from us by such a deep abyss.

I do not mean that social contact should be encouraged or even condoned. It may be that a gradual absorption of a few into our ranks will be inevitable, but even this I regard as undesirable. At present this happens, and at the same time the black element is strengthened by infiltration from below. If this could be discouraged or prevented, the danger would be much reduced. With wider opportunities a race pride might be established which would serve as a protective barrier on their side as well as ours. The problem is a complex one, the issues are doubtful, elements of anxiety are present, but our race is in the larger part responsible for these people and we cannot now ignore, much less repress them.

CHAPTER XI.

FOR THE FUTURE.

HAVING now looked at the native as he was and is, what he is tending to become, his relation to the land, his position as labourer, the work of Missions, education and its effects upon him, his attitude to the white man and its government, the past policies of the various Administrations and certain current theories, I proceed now to place before the reader a policy for the future based upon the results of the inquiry and already foreshadowed, which will, I trust, be worthy of some consideration. After what has been said of the effect of his special environment on the white man, any such policy will not commend itself, unless it does much to minimize the ill-effects, present and prospective, of the position, and provides a more hopeful outlook for the coming generations of our race in South East Africa.

I lay down as a basis three fundamental principles :—

1. The white man must govern.
2. The Parliament elected by the white man must realize that while it is their duty to decide upon the line of policy to be adopted, they must delegate a large measure of power to those specially qualified, and must refrain from undue interference.
3. The main line of policy must be the separation of the races as far as possible, our aim being to prevent race deterioration, to preserve race integrity, and to give to both opportunity to build up and develop their race life.

Our first principle I regard as absolutely essential, and to it I stand fast. We cannot contemplate the conflict of race ideals in the Government of South Africa. For

good or ill the white man and what he stands for must be paramount. It would be a grave disservice to the black man himself to weaken or deflect the ideals and aspirations of the superior race. Not light-heartedly do I demand for my own people this responsibility, nor do I advocate it because I desire for them power and material wealth as a result, but because I feel that only among them will the desire to serve be strong enough to secure the Government on a basis of right and justice. We want to aim at the highest, and I think the co-operation of the black man at this stage in his development would tend to drag us down.

My second principle, however, indicates the difficulty of the white man's task. A homogeneous population of Europeans under democratic government, with manhood suffrage, is quite capable of managing its own affairs, and I do not share the misgivings of many with regard to the future in Britain, Australia, or New Zealand where the democracy rules. I trust the reason and common sense of the people. But it is quite another matter when we ask all these electors not only to undertake the management of their own affairs, but to wisely rule a subject population many times their number. The many qualifications I thought necessary for one who would form a true judgment on native matters, mentioned in a previous chapter, and some measure of which ought to be shared by the electorate, are largely absent from them. As a rule, beyond the point at which the native impinges on their daily life they are not interested in him; their own affairs engross their attention. The difficulties of native government and legislation are so great and involved, that to properly fulfil their duty, the electors ought to make a special study of it, but this the great mass will never do. And as the people are, so will their representatives be. Fortunately we have a minority who do study this question, and others who, by reason of their upbringing and surroundings, have knowledge of the natives and their requirements. To these we look to

instruct and guide the mass of the electors in deciding upon the general policy to be adopted to the native population. This broad policy cannot be evolved by the electorate; the wisest among us must endeavour to do it, but under our form of government none but the electors can finally decide upon it. Beyond this, both the constituencies and their representatives in Parliament should decide they cannot go, and the further government and administration of native affairs be entrusted to those specially fitted for the task. Parliament should pass a self-denying Ordinance or Charter for native government, giving large powers to a permanent Council for native affairs, and the necessary statute among other things should provide:—

That no legislation specially affecting natives shall be introduced into Parliament until the Council has considered and reported upon it. Such report shall be read in Parliament, and two members of the Council shall have full opportunity of addressing both Houses on the measure.

That the Council consider all existing class legislation affecting natives, and advise with regard to revision, consolidation, or cancellation if these or any are considered necessary.

For regular sessions of the Council at which they should deliberate upon all questions affecting the native population, advise the Minister with regard to necessary legislative and administrative changes, and suggest action for the advancement and betterment of the condition of the people.

That an annual report be prepared by the Council and laid before Parliament.

The Council should be under the Prime Minister, who should represent it and the native population in Parliament. This would give dignity and stability to the office in the eyes of the natives. For the highest in the land would represent them, and though he may be changed, it is more likely that the policy will be continuous, if the

head of the Government takes it over from his predecessor, and hands it in turn to the man responsible above all others.

The members of the Council should be appointed for a long term of office, and special provision be made that they shall only be removable after the gravest consideration.

It goes without saying that they should be men of great ability, specially qualified by a knowledge of native affairs and sympathy with the people, and consider it their life's work.

When the Council was not in Session they would be expected to visit localities inhabited by natives, and make themselves acquainted with the general position of affairs and report to the Council the results of their investigations. But in no case should they appear to the natives of a district as superseding the Administrator, who should to those immediately in his charge be the representative of Government.

The Council should be originators, and the co-ordinators of the work done by those who come into actual contact with the native population.

I may say here that at intervals of say every five years there should be a full inquiry, a stocktaking of the whole position as affecting the races. An investigation into the results of the policy so far pursued. An attempt to discover any tendencies not foreseen, and to get back to bedrock principles if any part of the structure has been laid on wrong foundations. Such inquiry should not only include some of those responsible for native affairs, but others of different and varied experience, who could take an independent survey of the whole field.

The first proposition, that the white man must rule, will be almost unanimously approved by the Europeans of South East Africa, and largely endorsed throughout the sub-continent. The second calls for some sacrifice on the part of the ruling race, but may be accepted if people and Parliament realize they are not specially fitted

for the task of governing beyond the point I have laid down. But with regard to my third principle of separation I cannot be certain, for it involves an actual sacrifice of what is tangible and valuable for a future good, a test of such magnitude as is applied but to few peoples.

I feel I must therefore deal with it in some detail and again enter the field of controversy, and before I leave it try to anticipate and answer objectors. The sacrifice demanded will be some of the land of the country on which the Abantu may live their separate home lives. How much will be required we cannot tell, it must be the subject of a special inquiry. I think one of the first duties of the Native Affairs Council should be to inspect all areas set apart for exclusive use of the natives to see how far they are adequate to the needs of the native population. Some approximate standard will have to be set, and I suggest that the basis should be the provision of an area for each family adequate to the reasonable support of that family, with a reserve over and above that for increase of population. If it should be shown that sufficient land was not already provided in the locations of Natal and Zululand, the Transkeian territories, Swaziland, and the location areas of the Transvaal, inquiry should be made as to what suitable unalienated land was available and a report sent in to Parliament to the end that further provision be made. It is, of course, not the intention to immediately divide this land up, or even settle natives upon it, or at present do much to alter the distribution of natives upon the land. We need to make a beginning, and if we accept the doctrine that for the sake of the future we must make for separation, then the first step and the principal one is to find what land is necessary and set it apart.

The South African Native Affairs Commission saw the danger to both races from indiscriminate mixing on the land, and a majority supported resolutions limiting the power of purchase of land by natives to certain areas to be demarcated. They saw the need of separation.

Clause 191 reads thus :—

"It is a fact that say twenty-five years ago there were comparatively few landowners by purchase in the Cape Colony and Natal where to-day they exist in considerable numbers. The capacity to purchase by collective process if necessary, is, to-day, in excess of what it formerly was. Furthermore, there is a manifest effort on the part of the native to-day being made to possess land which is not counteracted by any reluctance on the part of Europeans to dispose of it so long as the sellers are not themselves bound to live in the proximity."

Clause 192. "If this process goes on while at the same time restrictions exclude Europeans from purchasing within native areas, it is inevitable that at no very distant date the amount of land in native occupation will be undesirably extended. Native wages and earnings are greater than they used to be, their wants are few, their necessary expenses small. They will buy land at prices above its otherwise market value, as their habits and standard of living enable them to exist on land that it is impossible for Europeans to farm on a small scale. There will be many administrative and social difficulties created by the multiplication of a number of native units scattered throughout a white population owning the land of the country with them. Such a situation cannot fail to accentuate feelings of race prejudice and animosity with unhappy results. It will be far more difficult to preserve the absolutely necessary political and social distinctions if the growth of a mixed rural population of landowners is not discouraged."

Clause 193. "The Commission has arrived almost unanimously at the conclusion that it is necessary to safeguard what is conceived to be the interests of the Europeans of this country, but that in so doing the door should not be entirely closed to deserving and progressive individuals among the natives acquiring land, and has resolved as follows:—

"That certain restrictions upon the purchase of land by natives are necessary, and recommends:—

"1. That purchase by natives should, in future, be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment.

"2. That purchase of land which may lead to tribal, communal, or collective possession by natives should not be permitted."

The conclusion to which the majority of the Commission subscribe will seem a very harsh one to many. I support it, quite as much in what I conceive to be the interests of the Abantu as of my own people. But only if we adopt a liberal land policy to the native people such as I have outlined. We cannot have our cake and also eat it, we have tried too often to do that in South Africa. In this case, if the white man is to feel secure in that no black man be allowed to become a neighbour, bringing social and material disadvantages in his train, he must be prepared to grant to the black compensating advantages such as I have indicated.

The South African Commission¹ see the dangers of intermixture and favour separation when the material interests of the white man are threatened. I advocate it as a principle to be carried out even if we suffer in material things.

The areas set apart in which natives can acquire land by purchase should be sufficiently large to support a community numerous enough to supply itself with all it needs for its social life. There must not be small black areas scattered among the whites. In these areas, exclusively for natives, there should be white supervision and such benefits and amenities as were present in the locations. Any provision made for education and self-government there, should apply here also. Regulations should be framed, preventing the accumulation of large areas in the hands of one man and prohibiting speculation.

It is quite possible, that when investigation has been made and everything done to provide land sufficient for the home life of the native people, a surplus number may

remain for whom no provision is possible. In any case for the many thousands who reside on occupied farms in Natal and the Transvaal it will be impossible to find land in native areas for years to come. Meantime such farms should come under the supervision of Government, and constitute private locations under Act of Parliament on somewhat similar lines to the Cape Colony Act dealing with them. Also at some future time, when full investigation has been made and organization in the native areas has made it possible to find homes for the evicted, similar laws to those at present on the statute books, and now in abeyance, should be put into operation, and the number of tenants on farms occupied by Europeans be limited to those actually required for labour purposes.

It will be patent to those who have followed me thus far that the underlying principles of the recommendation I am now making is the separation of the races to an extent hitherto never attempted, the preservation of the home life, and race integrity, and the prevention of race overlapping, contact, and conflict. They will therefore be prepared to admit that there should be no violation by the white man of the areas set apart for the Abantu. Only those would be admitted as residents into these reserves who were there primarily for the benefit of the natives, administrative officers, missionaries, and teachers. Trading licences issued during pleasure and specifically conferring no vested interests might be allowed, but the idea is that the natives shall in time, under guidance, be fitted to fulfil all the duties pertaining to their separate existence. Within the native areas, a black man will have many rights and privileges; two obligations, however, will be absolutely imperative, the broad policy governing his affairs must be dictated by the white man through his Parliament, and he must be absolutely loyal to the central Government, which is in turn responsible to the Empire, and in a wide sense to the civilized world at large.

So, and contingent thereon, a generous policy may well be adopted, making the black man's land one attractive to him, freeing him there from the irritation and overlordship of individual whites, and giving him every opportunity for personal and race development. But outside this domain and within the area of the white race, he has no such privileges. Should he go there for any purpose, he must conform and submit to laws and regulations made by the white man for the benefit of the white man.

Our future in South Africa depends so largely on the view we may take of this question of separation that I feel it necessary to anticipate some arguments which will, I foresee, be urged against it; and I take three which will probably be the chief ones advanced. First it will be said this is another case of pampering the native,—the white man does not get areas of free land set apart for him, he must buy what he requires; and if the black man wants it he should do the same. I may say I do not propose that the land should be given to the native. If he occupies communally he must pay his contribution to the Government, probably in the form of hut tax; if he acquires individual title to an allotment he must pay quit rent or an equivalent. But has the white man always bought the land he owns and enjoys? In the early days large tracts of land were given out by the Dutch or British Governments at a nominal quit rent charge or carrying obligations to military service. The tracts were from 6000 to 8000 acres in extent. In many cases the obligations have never been fulfilled, but the land remains in the hands of the beneficiaries or their descendants, a valuable patrimony for which nothing has been paid. Since those times it is true that the Crown lands have been purchased from the Government. But the price has been very low, the terms very easy, and in some cases, although contrary to regulation, native rents have actually paid the instalments, and the purchaser never put his hands in his pockets at all. The landed estate of the people of South

East Africa, in so far as it has been alienated to individual Europeans, leaves them little reasonable cause to object to some liberality to the native.

Again it will be said, if the native reserves are to be closed to Europeans for all time, and possibly new areas be added to them, what about the expansion of the white race? Land hunger, which exists everywhere, but which is a special feature of new countries, is prevalent in South Africa. One after another, native territories have been taken, and now longing eyes are cast on Basutoland and Swaziland, and many express a desire that these countries should be "opened up". I trust the sense of justice of South Africa will overrule the greed of those who would strip the native of the little he has left.

But indeed, has not the white man already plenty of land to give scope for his expanse for many generations to come? What we want is not more land but the proper utilization of the land we have. We are only just beginning to understand the agricultural possibilities of our country. The high veldt of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, instead of being only fit to carry a few head of stock in summer, has been proved to be an immense tract of great agricultural potentialities. Not only can cereals be grown for export to an extent never believed possible a few years back, but with their growth and that of winter food the stock-carrying capacity of the land can be increased many fold. In Natal, on farms on which a few hundred head of cattle became skeletons in winter, the cultivation of *Paspalum dilitatum* and other grasses has made it possible to keep a beast in good condition through the winter, on an acre of ground. There are large areas fit for the growth of the valuable wattle tree and other exportable crops which are not utilized at all. With the discovery that the systematic dipping of cattle prevents many diseases, and with the mild climate and abundance of food all the year round, the despised coast may yet become the best dairying country in South Africa, vying in this respect with Northern New South

Wales. The Thorn country, hitherto almost useless to Europeans, has been shown to be admirably suited to ostrich rearing. We do not want more land over which to thinly spread as cattle ranchers living indolent lives, not more land in which to speculate and make fortunes, but closer settlement and intensive culture of what we have already. If never an acre is added to the land now held by Europeans, there are possibilities, some beginning to be realized, others still hidden, which will give scope to the energies and capital of South Africans for many generations to come.

The third objection to my proposition is that the possession of a home by the native will prevent his coming out to work for the European, and industrial development will be retarded. Quite possible! though, as far as I can learn, the native men of the Transkeian territories and Basutoland are leaving their homes for work outside, in ever-increasing numbers. A comparison of the proportion who do so with, say Natal, would be misleading, for comparatively few in the Transkei, and practically none in Basutoland, are employed by white men on the spot, while in Natal the majority find work near their homes. Even if all the natives of South East Africa were provided with sufficient land on which to support themselves, a large proportion, as in the Transkei and Basutoland, would still go out to work for Europeans. But they would not be idle at home, and with growing wants would probably want work to satisfy them. It is not expected either that separation, though worked for as a definite end, is going to segregate the races—all the black on one side of a line, all the white on another. South Africa is based on black labour; the white man will still need the black man, the latter will still need to work for the European. We have seen the effects of the past superabundance of natives willing to engage themselves, and a cause which resulted in better organization, economy in hand labour, the employment of labour-saving machinery and appliances, the greater industry

of the white man, would not be an economic misfortune.

Having laid down the three main planks of the platform, I wish to bind them by three cross-pieces. These are : (1) a measure of self-government in their own affairs ; (2) literary, industrial, and agricultural education ; (3) encouragement of religious and moral instruction by the Missionary bodies.

We have in Basutoland and the Transkei object lessons which should enable us to gradually introduce measures into other areas which will give the people some responsibility for their own affairs. We want, as one of the great necessities of the case, to give the Abantu a hope and interest in their lives, and the opportunity to do so will do much to lift the black shadow of apathy and indifference that is now over them. The responsibility should not be thrust upon them ; let them from experience elsewhere realize its value, and give the privilege as they desired it and proved themselves worthy. The method would probably be by the establishment of local District Councils under the direction and guidance of the magistrate, and development would work up from that. Whilst the initiation of policy and the direction of South African Native Affairs must rest with the white man, I want the black man to have full opportunity of letting his rulers know his desires, his satisfactions, and his grievances. We want to establish a spirit of confidence and mutual good understanding between the people and their rulers. I therefore advocate the holding of an annual gathering of the people in each area, at which they will meet their rulers face to face, and have an opportunity to voice what is in them. I said in each area, for I do not propose that there should be South African or even Provincial pitsos or gatherings. The local natives should hold their own, and their own administrator be present and in charge. The total results should be collaborated and be fully considered by the Council for Native Affairs, whose report thereon should be laid before Government and Parliament.

With a definite and understandable policy laid down, the hitherto somewhat lukewarm support given to the Missionary bodies might be replaced by a more generous recognition of their work, religious and educational. They would have a field in the native areas in which, under Government control, they would have great opportunities. On the religious side of their work they would have a free hand except that Government would see that the various bodies did not overlap each other. At the present time this does occur, and the results are often such as the friends of Missions greatly deplore. On the educational side the Government would control and regulate. At the present, for reasons already given, it may not be advisable for Government to open schools of their own ; as in the past, they could utilize the organization of the Missionary Societies. But with the secular advance of the people, their ability to tax themselves, among other things for all branches of education, would develop ; it is unlikely that in the future instruction will remain altogether in the hands of the Missionaries.

With such a policy adopted, the influences which are at the present time hurrying the black man breathlessly along as he gets into the whirlpool of our activities, or leaving him torpid and apathetic, stranded in his black environment, both pernicious, could be modified. The former could in part be retarded, the latter brightened. If tribal authority should be retained in the interests of the governed, it could be either kept intact or modified to suit the growing or altered needs of the people. As individualism grew, so the machinery—personal title to land, the right to vote for representatives in the local Council—could be gradually established. What I consider great and vital wants of the people would be met ; both the tribal and educated native would have something to work for and a hope in life. For the former, improved agriculture and the better material condition to which he could attain would have something for which he could strive ; whilst the latter would have opportunities of

advancement in practical work and life only limited by his own ability, and at the same time the added satisfaction of knowing that he was helping his own people along the true path of progress. If they could not achieve the political ambitions on which they have hitherto set their minds they would have openings in the local Councils and annual gatherings to make their influence felt, and at all times advise and help those of their own race along an unbarred road. I would give openings for the boy or girl of exceptional ability and industry ; provide for them an honourable and useful career among their own folk ; train them as doctors, nurses, teachers.

Along this line the most influential, and possibly the wisest of the negro race in the United States is endeavouring to lead his people. He desires to give them opportunity in life, he wants them to be educated and capable men and women, but he recognizes that the true line is not by talk, agitation, and political excitement, but educated, hopeful, ever advancing labour, giving them power over the material things of the earth. If our advanced natives could see the wisdom of this course and devote themselves to such work as Booker Washington is doing, the outlook would be much brightened. It is much to ask of any people. In the policy here advocated sacrifices are demanded from the white man and sacrifices are asked, for the sake of the mass of his people, from the educated black man. It is a great test of the insight and wisdom of a people ; should they respond, a duty is laid upon us to see they do not suffer.

The great and fundamental advantage to the Abantu would be that his home life and the conditions surrounding him from cradle to adolescence would be conserved as regards the best traditions and customs of his race in the past ; that, as these necessarily changed, the best wisdom of the Abantu, guided by the best the white man could give and devise, would be directed to make them sound and healthy. As the old ancestral controls weakened, fresh ones suitable to the race and its altered

conditions would be gradually imposed, but always of such a nature as would tend to conserve the best in them and evolve the best possibilities at present dormant in the race.

So far for the black man.

For the Asiatic or other races alien to both Europeans and Abantu we must see to it that their numbers and our consequent race problems are not made increasingly difficult by further immigration. To the desires and difficulties of those at present in the country we must be more considerate than in the past, take care that jealousy and fear of the future does not lead to injustice.

Towards those bound to us in part by ties of blood we must take another course, and face the responsibilities for our own actions—shall I say our own sins. We cannot bar their upward aspirations, still less can we force them back into the black mass from which they have emerged. Without reservations, mental or visible, we must give them opportunities to rise, and whilst deprecating further social intercourse, confer on them the opportunities and privileges of the side of their ancestry to which they aspire. This course is both humane and politic, and from experience gained we may trust them to respond, and be true to the privileges and responsibilities conferred on them.

And while carrying out this policy to blacks, Asiatics, and coloured, we must not forget our own people. The great danger to the body politic from the presence and increase of the "poor whites" must be realized and fought against. With those of adult age steeped in indolence and ignorance, little may be possible; but much may be accomplished to raise and make good citizens of their children. Our position in South Africa is unique, and these people are the direct result of their environment. For special diseases special remedies are required. We should not be bound by sentimentalism, or weakly consider precedent in such a case. The report of the Indigency Commission of the Transvaal reveals such

a tragic condition of affairs that we should be prepared to take heroic remedies, and if further investigation and thought showed that the balance of good lay in the forcible separation of children from degenerate parents, we should not hesitate. We cannot afford that the future of our race should be jeopardized by weakness towards the unworthy.

There is room in South Africa only for the best. Every dissolute, lazy, incompetent white man is a danger to the race. Nay more, every white man who does not live up to the highest ideals of our race intensifies our problem. Consciously, and with due solemnity, South Africa should take this to heart and impress it on her children. The best and highest education in its widest sense should be given to them, fitting them for their arduous destiny, making them living examples of all that is best to our wards. And part of that education should be to awaken in them a due and full sense of their responsibility to those entrusted to their hands, a responsibility instructed by definite teaching in the life history of the lower races.

Much thought and strenuous endeavour have been given by the ablest in South Africa to our economic progress, and much has been achieved by them. I appeal for like thought and effort to place on a just, sound, and lasting foundation the relations of the various races of the country. I desire such to be so conceived that the building up of character, the conservation and development of all that is best in individual and race life, shall be the first consideration. This is my policy for the white man towards his own people.

I would that some of those patriotic and far-seeing citizens of the Southern United States, who feel overwhelmed by the questions raised through the admixture of races in their own country, could visit us and study our problem in its present phase in the light of their own tragic experience. We know that some of them, full of sadness for the fate of the coloured man and of

dubiety for the future of their own people, feel that nothing short of the absolute segregation of the races will give permanent relief. Involved centuries of contact, the sin of miscegenation, the complete divorce of the negro from his old ancestral African life, have made this solution practically impossible of realization. Our vaster empty spaces, the solidarity of the races, the desire to maintain this race integrity on both sides, would, I think, constrain them to feel that we had opportunities, now denied to them, making them wonder that, for the sake of present ease and possible economic advantage, we dallied with the question and allowed the precious time with its possibility of alleviation to pass by.

What the distant future may have in store for us we cannot tell. Given fuller opportunities, the black man may develop to a degree none of us foresee and along unexpected lines. If such is the case, it may be that in time to come, our increased ethnic knowledge may prompt us to desire closer relations, and the two races together may work hand in hand and together rule the land. I have an open mind on such far-off questions.

We want a working hypothesis and plan for to-day and to-morrow, and it seems to me that we have now to choose between the policies of the converging or parallel lines, and consciously and deliberately choose. If we decide on the former we will gradually move towards the junction, relations becoming, meantime, more and more strained, until there is but one stream of mingled black and white humanity, struggling together in mutual animosity towards chaos. If the latter, each endeavouring to live their own lives apart yet with strands running from one line to the other, which though unavoidable, may make for help and need not then make for conflict, the two main streams may run apart each in its own channel. If accepted by both races it will demand sacrifices from both, but the present tension may be relaxed and the spirit of helpfulness on the one side and recognition on the other make for mutual peace and goodwill.

For the white man it will mean much to his inner life. His position would be made clear, his duty would be defined. His race integrity and ideals, now threatened, and causing him to take repressive measures against his instinctive dislike to coercion and harshness, would be preserved as far as is possible under South African conditions. The deteriorating influences of race contact, though not entirely removed, would be greatly minimized. To an extent which depended on the completeness with which he carried the policy into effect the present unwholesome and degenerative custom of leaving all manual labour to the black man might be checked, and possibly in time he might accept for himself the discarded gospel of the dignity of labour.

Lastly, feeling secure in the position of the ruling race, feeling the responsibility of being the sole arbiter in the future of the Abantu, freed from the dread that all liberal treatment, all opportunities for advancement, were only bringing nearer the tremendous issues of race conflict, his conscience, now stifled or warped, might be given fair play. His present state of doubt is deplorable, the instinct of self-preservation rules far too much of his life, preventing the expansion, and in cases corroding, the best that is in him. A policy for the future that will remove these fears and make it clear that both races may have a future, not indeed free from grave problems, but not devoid of much that is hopeful, is surely worth thought, effort, self-sacrifice, and restraint on the part of the race to whom much has been given and from whom much will be required.

May the verdict of history be that South Africa undertook and fulfilled.

INDEX.

- ABANTU** people, the : divisions of, 23-6 ; Zulu and Basuto compared, 24-5 ; history of, 42, 43 ; language, 36 ; homes of, 3, 4, 23, 24, 26, 47, 131 ; physical standard of, 6, 27, 28, 56, 93 ; fecundity of, 58, 60, 62, 64 ; birth-rate, 61-4 ; mortality, 63 ; and the evil effects of civilization, 55-8 ; polygamy, 6, 60-2, 103-4 ; witchcraft, 72, 74 ; life, before the appearance of the white man, 106-7, 154 ; ethical conceptions, 38 ; outlook on life, white and native point of view contrasted, 32-3, 74, 77, 79, 82-3 ; a pastoral people, 138, 174-5 ; wasteful agriculturists, 5, 115-7, 131-2, 151, 179 ; tribalism : 67-72, 79 ; chieftainship, 70-2 ; explanatory of characteristics, 73-4, 76-8 ; effect of white influence on, 79-83, 86, 98 ; difference to whites, 34, 35, 65, 86 ; relations with coloured peoples, 298 ; political possibilities of, 263.
- Characteristics** of, 26, 27, 35, 37, 73, 80, 114, 139, 163, 178, 188, 194, 270 ; colour and physiognomy, 26-7.
- Adaptability**, 56, 158.
- Attachment**, to home and kraal life, 3, 139, 149, 156, 175 ; to tribe and chief, 66.
- Conservatism**, 5, 6, 33, 74, 75, 78, 80-81, 101, 117, 120, 289.
- Emulation**, absence of, 74.
- Hospitality**, 35, 73.
- Imitative**, 74, 179.
- Impenetrability**, 12-13.
- Indolence**, 175.
- Abantu** people, characteristics of, (*cont.*)—
- Law-abiding**, 38, 40, 73.
- Mental capacity**, 78, 93, 115 ; intelligence of children, 36 ; suspension of mental powers at adolescence, 36, 37 ; expression, power of, 31, 267-8 ; a native lawsuit described, 31-2.
- Observation**, powers of, 36.
- Persistence**, 6, 56.
- Philosophic**, 33, 112, 178.
- Procrastination**, 139.
- Self-reliance**, lack of, 188.
- Standard of morals**, 76, 111.
- Stubborn** : dead weight of opposition, 178.
- Subconsciousness**, 12-13, 76.
- Suffering**, indifference to, 35, 73.
- Trustworthiness**, 40, 158, 166.
- Uncomplaining**, 158, 178, 210.
- Unthriftness**, 139, 163, 279.
- Adams**, Sir Hamilton Goold, cited, 141.
- Addison**, Col. Friend, cited, 181.
- Administration** : difficulties of native government, 311 ; principles of early lawgivers, 241-3, 275 ; separation of tribes and security of peace, 241-2 ; personal government, 241-2 ; former accessibility of administrators, 186 ; elimination of personal rule, 186-91 ; difficulty of access to Secretary for Native Affairs, 186, 188, 190, 193 ; absence of provision for making laws known to native, 187, 193, 246, 248 ; indifference to native affairs, 14, 239, 240, 243-4, 246, 263-4, 269 ; independent religious organization discouraged, 89-90 ; complaints of natives, 41, 193-4,

- 196; native ideas on Government, 105, 189-90, 245; vested powers of 1887 retracted by Parliament (1891), 246, 248.
- Natal Native Commission, cited, 41, 105, 199; quoted, 189-96, 244-9; natives are being over-administered, 246; Parliament an oligarchy, 246, 248; effect of partial and ill-considered legislation, 248; our form of democratic representative Government not suited to the natives, 243, 246-7; failure to comprehend our political system, 247, 270; recommendations of, 191, 245, 247.
- Necessity of study of past history, 191; importance of personal rule, 190-2, 194, 244, 247, 259, 270; delegation of Parliamentary powers, 244-9, 310, 312, 313; precedents for, 247-8; method of government of Egypt and India, cited, 239-40, 244; native affairs and party politics, 244; some reforms instituted, 191, 249; Native Administration Act, 10, 11; for the future, 310-18; a measure of self-government, 321-2; white must govern, 262, 310-11, 317; policy in Basutoland, 101, 250-1; Cape Colony, 142-3, 252-3, 255; Natal, 89, 187, 241-9; Transkei, 123-4, 256-7; principles from various policies, 277.
- Africa, *see* South East Africa.
- African Methodist Episcopal Church, 87; policy of, 88; disclaims politics, 88; *The Voice of Missions*, 88.
- African problem, the, 7.
- Agricultural labour, *see under* Labour.
- Agriculture: native, and agricultural education, 115-19; wasteful methods, 131-2, 151, 153, 179; mealies exported, 44, 116, 119; cotton crops suggested, 119; native produce, 174; number of implements in possession of natives, census of Natal quoted as to, 175; the Rev. J. Dube's school, 118; suggestions, 117-19; successful in Basutoland, 148. European, 164; and agricultural possibilities, 319-20; *and see under* Farming.
- Amabaca (clan), 23, 43, 259.
- Amahlangweni (tribe), 23, 43.
- Amakolwa (mission natives), 84, 103, 104, 294.
- Amaleita gangs (hooligans), 278, 279.
- Amapondo Kaffirs, 23.
- Amaxesibi (tribe), 23.
- Amazulu, the, 23.
- America, North, pioneer life in, cited, 219; emigration of natives to the United States, 94, 113.
- America, Southern States of the Union: colour problem, cited, 202, 231, 325; "mean whites" of, 220, 279-80; the franchise, 264; delegates from, invited to study native problem, 325.
- American Zulu Mission in Natal, 92, 104, 143; opening of a new school, 92-4.
- Arabs, *see* Asiatics.
- Armstrong, George S., cited, 181.
- Asiatics: problem of, has not received much serious attention, 283; and coloured people, line of cleavage, 284, 294; Indian immigration, 159, 285-6, 290; effect of, on Europeans, 287; as affecting the native question, 287-8; characteristics and condition of the Indian, 288-90, 292-3; effect of, on the native, 289-90; Arabs (Bombay traders), 81, 290; viewed with disfavour, 291-2; restrictive legislation as to, 286, 293; representation, 293-5; need for greater protection of, 293; suggestions regarding, 294-5; for the future, 324.
- Attitude of native: difficulty of gauging, 13, 17, 71; no regular method by which we may learn native feeling, 185, 186, 192; native newspapers, 185; channels for expression of native opinion in Transkei, 185; in Basutoland, 186; former ac-

- cessibility of administrators, 186; disappearance of patriarchal association, 186; difficulty of access to Secretary for Native Affairs, 186, 188, 190, 193; native ideas on Government, 189-90, 245; idea of relation to Government, land question, 131, 137; loss of confidence in Government, 105, 189, 191; Natal Rebellion, 189; complaints of natives, 41, 193-7; underlying note of, 195; desire to be let alone, 134, 195, 204, 205; independence in religious matters, 90-1, 204-5; Natal Native Commission Report quoted, 195; the franchise, 262-5; back to the land, desire of native, 149, 150, 153; educated native and equality of opportunity, 197-205, 264; the inequality of race, 198; the altruism of the white, 201-2, 264-5; Southern United States, cited, 202-3; attitude to forced labour, 130, 134; deference to whites, 34, 35, 65, 86.
- Australian aborigine, the, 55, 56.
- BABANGO, district of, 45.
- Bacas, the, 23, 43, 259.
- Balfour, Prof. Henry, cited, 42.
- Barnett, P. A., Superintendent of Education in Natal, quoted, native servants, 229; education, 235; cited, half-castes, 301.
- Basuto-Bechuana, 23-5.
- Basuto—
Distribution of the people, 23, 25; united in one nation under Moshesh, 25; compared with Zulu, 26; less aggressive than Zulu, 43.
- Basutoland—
Early history: native struggles for independence, 249; natural conditions of the country, 25, 146; compared with the Transkei, 146-7; birth-rate in, 64. French Protestant Mission, 100-1; missionaries and government co-operation, 100-1, 250; results of missionary effort, 101; Lord Selborne quoted on Basutos' desire to be let alone, 205. Land question, 140, 146; area and population of native reservations, 140, 146; small number of whites, 48; land held under tribal system, 146; success of land tenure system, 147; imports, 147; and exports, 147-8; considerable agricultural success, 148; Sir Godfrey Lagden quoted, 147-8; labour for Europeans, 320; hut tax, 250; progress and prosperity, 101-2, 250-1; financial independence of, 250; Administration, policy of the Imperial Government, 101, 250-1. National Council, 251; tribal government, 250; power of chiefs, 69.
- Bechuanas, 23-5.
- Bechuanaland, 140-1.
Area and population of native reservations, 140; water supply, 140-1.
- Behaviour of natives, 48, 49, 104.
- Birth-rate, the diminishing, of Europeans, 58, 59, 208; Abantu fecundity, 58, 61-4; virility of the Boers, 59-60.
- Boers, the, *see under* Dutch.
- Boksburg, 45.
- Bombay traders, *see under* Asiatics.
- Bridgman, the Rev. F. B., of the American Zulu Mission, 143, 257.
- Bryce, James, quoted, 279.
- Burton, The Hon. H., cited, 143.
- Bushmen, the, 42; wall paintings of, 42; enmity of the Abantu, 42, 43.
- CAPE COLONY: the 1820 settlers, 209; birth-rate of natives in, 64; cattle stealing Acts of, 77; geographical distribution of the people of, 251. Land question in, 140-4; population and area of native reservations, 140, 141, 146; policy of Cape Government, 141-4; discouragement of communal tenure, 252; modified European system, 141, 147,

- 254 ; main features of scheme, 253-4, 256 ; experiments near Lovedale, 254 ; the Glengrey Act, 254 ; Commission on Individual Land Tenure, Report of April, 1910, cited, 143, 254 ; land purchase outside Government reserves, 144 ; partnership system, 144 ; native servants on farms, 144 ; private locations, 141, 144 ; urban locations, 145. Administration of, main features of policy, 252-3, 255 ; self-government in, 142-3, 252 ; declining power of native chiefs, 251 ; the franchise in, 237-8, 252, 261 ; small number of native voters, 238, 261, 270 ; parallel in Jamaica, 262 ; progress of natives in, 255. Education, liberal policy in regard to, in, 252, 255 ; missions, encouragement of, in, 255 ; number of white children without school instruction or occupation, 235 ; the Cape coloured people, 296-7 ; *and see under* Transkeian Territories.
- Capetown—
Coloured population of, 296.
- Cattle raising : native methods, 138, 212-13 ; milking, 212 ; the possibilities of S. E. Africa, 319 ; cattle and stock in possession of natives, 175.
- Census of Natal, quoted, 174-5.
- Cetywayo, 5, 73.
- Chiefs, power of, 70-1, 72, 78-9 ; recommendations as to education of sons of, 113.
- Churches in South Africa, 87-9, 91.
- Church of England in South Africa, 87, 88 ; the Order of Ethiopia, 88.
- Civilization and the Abantu, 55-6.
- Climate, 22, 24, 25, 146 ; effect on Europeans, 52-5, 214.
- Clothing and the native, 57, 130.
- Coloured peoples : of Cape Colony, 296-7 ; of Natal, 298-9 ; census of, 298 ; education, 299 ; status of, 298.
- Cape Boys, 298.
- Coloured peoples (*cont.*)—
Mauritians, 298-9, 308.
St. Helenas, 298, 308.
Half-castes, 299-301, 324.
See also Asiatics.
- Communal tenure, *see* Land.
- Complaints of natives, 41, 193-4, 196.
- Congregational Union of S. Africa, 199.
- Cotton crops, introduction of suggested, 119.
- Crime, 39, 230-1, 255.
- DEBT, the native view of, 68-9.
- Definition of "native," 302-7.
- Democratic Government, 243, 311.
- Dinga'an, 70, 127.
- Dinuzulu, 66.
- Disease and the decline of native races, 56-8, 64.
- Domestic service, 156-8, 166 ; evils of, 166-7, 229-30 ; female servants the exception, 166.
- Drakensberg Mountains, 22-3.
- Drew, The Hon. Dewdney, cited, 141.
- Drink and the decline of native races, 56, 57.
- Dube, The Rev. John, educational work of, cited, 118.
- Dugmore, Mr., quoted in description of a native lawsuit, 31.
- Durban : European aspect of ; contrast of black and white in, 2-4 ; 11, 43, 135, 169, *et passim* ; native families living in, 149.
- Dutch, the : immigration of, 127, 217-8 ; pioneer life, 217 ; Republics, 237 ; the Grondwet, and absolute governance of the white man, 237, 241 ; patriarchal relations with natives, 50, 127 ; management of natives compared with British methods, 44-5, 48-51, 127 ; high standard of morals, 218 ; simplicity of life of, 59, 60 ; virility of, 59, 217 ; modern influences, 46, 60 ; farmers of the high veldt, 47, 53 ; of upper Zululand, 44, 45, and the bush veldt, 48 ; the bywoner, 46 ; the poor Dutch, 46-7, 219.
- Dwane, The Rev. J. M., secession from the Wesleyans, 88.

EAST Coast fever, 119, 138.

Education : missionary effort, 92, 97, 100, 101 ; Government apathy toward native, 97, 118, 196, 255 ; opposition to native, 106 ; native desire for, 114, 196 ; popular generalizations regarding mission native, 103, 104 ; too little attention paid to manners, 102 ; intelligence of children, 36 ; mental powers at age of adolescence, 36-7 ; Mr. E. B. Sargent, cited, 37-8 ; not suited to requirements of natives, 114, 115 ; and race character, 112 ; higher education, 113 ; recommendations regarding native, 113-5, 117 ; recommendations of South African Native Commission, 110 ; and of Natal Native Commission, 114 ; agricultural training as a factor in solution of native problem, 115-7 ; schools of agriculture, 117-9 ; industrial training, 120-3, 151 ; recommendations regarding white, 234-5 ; ratio of white and coloured receiving, 235 ; increase in number of whites receiving, Mr. P. A. Barnett, quoted, 235 ; white children receiving no instruction, number of, Mr. K. A. Hobart Houghton, cited, 235-6 ; nursing of white children by native boys, effect on development, 229-30 ; separate schools for coloured people, 299 ; liberal policy of Cape Government, 252, 255 ; in the future, 279, 322-3.

Edwards, Mrs., of the Inanda Mission Station, 92.

Emigration of natives to the United States, 94, 113 ; provision for higher education as a counteractive to, 113.

Environment : effect of, on whites in South East Africa, 206 ; easy conditions of life tending to moral and physical deterioration, 159-61, 206-11, 214, 222, 232-4, 281 ; skilled labour

of the artisans the only work habitually undertaken by the white man, 206 ; manual labour considered derogatory, 207, 215 ; the essential Kaffir, 157-8, 210-11, 275 ; the Kaffir sets the pace ; effect on an industry, 212-3 ; exploitation of the native, 48, 211, 240 ; influence of climatic conditions, 52-5, 214 ; immigration and miscegenation, 216-7, 222-3 ; the "poor whites," the direct result of environment, 46-7, 219-22, 279, 281, 324 ; on farmers of British descent, 222 ; effect of, on family life, 229-30 ; carelessness of parents, 229 ; assault and rape, 230-1 ; assimilation of Abantu race characteristics, 231-2 ; white Kaffirs, 291-2 ; educational deficiencies, 234-6 ; basic rearrangement regarding labour essential, 206, 215 ; the present tendency, 281-2 ; for the future, 234-5.

Ermelo district, 47.

Ethiopia, the Order of, *see under* Church of England.

"Ethiopians," 89.

Eugenics, 207-8.

European Native Affairs Council, 295.

Evolution : the survival of the fittest, 21.

Exempted natives, 84-5, 103, 242.

FARMING, 44, 47, 48 ; average size of farms, 44.

Farm labour, *see under* Labour.

Female labour, 100, 167, 174 ; female domestics the exception, 166. Cotton crops and employment, 119.

Fingoes, Kaffirs, 23, 256.

Food, 73, 158.

Franchise, the, 237-8, 260-1, 304-5 ; small number of native voters in Cape Colony, 261-2 ; objections to extension of, 262-7 ; South African Native Commission, quoted, 263, 265 ; in early policy of Natal, 242 ; the native

- and, 270-2; Lord Selborne, quoted on test for, 272-4, 307-8; the future, 280.
- French-Canadians, cited, 59.
- French Protestant Mission, *see* Paris Evangelical Mission.
- Fusionism, 277, 297.
- GAIKAS (tribe), 43.
- Gcalekas (tribe), 43.
- Germiston (town), 45.
- Glengrey Act, 254.
- Government: native ideas on, 105, 131, 137, 189-91, 245, *and see* Administration.
- Great Britain, noble families of, cited, 207.
- Griqualand East, 23, 48, 99, 129, 224.
- Gumede, Posselt, of Natal Commission to Transkei, 1908, 143, 257.
- HAITI, cited; negroes and religion, 91.
- Half-castes, *see under heading* Coloured peoples.
- Hlangweni (tribe), 23, 43.
- Hlubi, Basuto chief, 23.
- Holden, the Rev. W. C., "The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races," quoted, 31.
- Hooliganism, 278-9.
- Houghton, K. A. Hobart, of Lovedale, quoted, 235.
- Huguenots, the, cited, 217.
- Hutchinson, Sir Walter Hely, quoted, on the "poor whites," 221.
- Huts, Basuto and Zulu compared, 26.
- Hut tax, 63, 130, 137, 144, 250.
- IMMORALITY, 58, 103, 224-5, 230-1, 279, 280.
- Inanda: Mission reserve, 92; native location, 4, 25.
- Indian immigration, *see under* Asiatics.
- Individual tenure, *see* Land.
- Industrial competition, fear of, 120-3, 279-81.
- Industrial training, 120-1, 151.
- International Commission to investigate relations of black and white, suggested, 10.
- Intoxicants, 56, 57; illicit trade in, 225-7.
- Islamism and the Abantu, III.
- JAMAICA: cited, negroes and religion, 91; small number of native voters in, 262.
- Johannesburg, 11, 46, 135, 231, *et passim*.
- Johnstone, Sir H. H., cited, 262.
- KAFFIR *truck*, 81; storekeeping, 290-2.
- Kalahari desert, 42.
- Keane, Dr. A. H., cited, 37.
- Kei, river, 123.
- Kitchen-Kaffir (patois), 51.
- Krugersdorp, 45.
- LABOUR: distinction between white and Kaffir work, 154-6, 206-7, 215; demand for, 154, 158; labour intermittent, 156, 175-6; nostalgia, 3, 156, 175; native ideas on, 160; great waste of, 159-64, 168-9, 173; abundance of, retards use of labour-saving appliances, 164, 173; anomalies of, 159-62; singular position in Natal, 159; absence of supervision and proper instruction, 157, 164; manner of dealing with the native, 165-6; absence of inducement to improve, 165; domestic service, 156-8, 166; evils of domestic labour, 166-7, 229-30; female servants the exception, 166; agricultural labour, 164; condition of natives on farms of Europeans, 135; low wages compared with amount earned in towns, 135; demoralizing systems of, 136, 162-3; experiments with farm labour on European lines, 136-7; ricksha-boys, 168; toggt boys, 169; on the Witwatersrand, 170-1; increased demands for, since the deportation of Chinese, 171; disingenuous employers, 171-2; better conditions necessary, 172; Randt labour agents, 173; demoralizing influence of agents, 173; gold industry and other employers of labour, 172-3; improved quality of labour, 180; causes of scarcity of

- labour, 173; remedies: break up of locations suggested, 176-7; taxation, forced labour, 177-8; objections to, 178-80; the true remedies, 181; more inducements to efficiency, 181; apprenticeship advocated, 181-2; facilities for rapid transfer and improved conditions, 151; erroneous views as to cheap labour, 182; reorganization and economic readjustment, 182-3; probable effect of a liberal land policy on, 320; forced (Government) labour, 130, 134; "Occupations of the people," Natal census quoted, 174-5; female labour, 100, 167, 174; absence of white manual labourers, 207; an organization to encourage white labour formed, 214-5; immigration of Europeans for, impolitic, 216; white unskilled, 221; fear of industrial competition of black and white, 120-3, 279-81; wages, *see under* Wages.
- Lagden, Sir Godfrey, cited, 64, 249-50; quoted, 101, 147-8.
- Land question (*and see headings* Locations and Reserves): history, 126-9; land hunger, 128, 319; congestion, 130-1, 140, 148; problem not confined to Natal, 129, 140; complicated by characteristics of the people, 138-40; aggravated by purchase for closer settlement and transfer, Crown lands, 138-9; Natal Native Commission, cited, 139; a Government dilemma, 139; native view as to land, 131, 133, 134, 137; white views contrasted, 133; white ideal: beneficial occupation, 134-5, 319; land in Natal held by Europeans, 133; areas privately purchased by natives, 130, 133; Crown lands: best acquired by Europeans, 132, 318; natives on, 130, 132; rent, 132; purchased by natives, 132-3; non-occupied farms, 133-4, 317; high rents, 134, 137, 278; white disfavour to, 134; terms of agreement, occupied farms, 135, 317; dislike of written contracts, 135; conditions and difficulties, occupied farms, 136, 241, 278-9; experiments on European lines, 137; difficulty of collection of rents, 137-8; security of tenure essential, a white view, 148; Individual title, 132, 148; as a remedy, 152-3; contrary to native ideas, 152, 153; must be watched, 152-3; success of in Transkei, 152; recommendation of Natal Native Commission, regarding, 152; Communal system: success in Basutoland, cited, 148; improvement of the land as a factor in native problem, 116; Bechuanaland, possibilities of, 140-1; back to the land, desire of the Abantu, 149, 150, 153; importance of conserving attachment to the land, 116, 150-1, 153; South African Native Affairs Commission, quoted, on native land purchase, 314-6; white man and the possibilities of the land, 319-20; for the future, liberal land policy necessary, 314, 316-20; land question in Basutoland, 140, 146, 147; in Cape Colony, 140-4, 146, 147, 252-4, 256.
- Language, 36, 51, 93; language difficulty, 51-2, 157.
- Legislature, the, and native law, 248.
- Le Roy, the Rev. Mr., of the American Zulu Mission, 104.
- Liquor, *see under* Intoxicants.
- Locations (*and see heading* Reserves): population and area of, 129-30, 140-1, 145, 251, 278; natural conditions of, 129; conditions of tenure, 130; life in, 130; provision of, by early administrators, 241; native view that locations are overcrowded, 130-1, 151; urban locations, 144-5; private locations, 145; break-up of, for labour purposes, considered, 176-7.

Lovedale, experiments in land tenure near, 254.
 Lutuli, Martin N., of Natal Commission to Transkei, 1908, 143, 257.
 Lydenburg, 145.

MAHOMETANISM and the Abantu, 111.

Management and treatment of natives, Dutch and British methods compared, 44-5, 48-51, 127.

Maories, the, cited, 27, 55, 56, 268.

Maputa, the, 18.

Marianhill, Roman Catholic Mission station, 99, 100.

Marriage of black with white, practice of early settlers, 224, 299; *and see* Miscegenation.

Mealie cultivation, 44, 116, 119.

Melmoth, town, 45.

Milner, Lord, 37, 250.

Miscegenation, 216, 218, 222-5, 280, 284, 296, 298-304; position of children, 223-4; Dutch and British attitude, 218, 223, 224; recommendation of the Natal Native Commission, 225.

Mission reserves, 132.

Missions and Missionary work (*see also* Education): history, 99; progress, 101-2; American Zulu Mission, 92, 104, 143; scene at opening of a new school, 92-4; Paris Evangelical (French Protestant) Mission, 100-1; Roman Catholic Stations, 99; Marianhill, 100; missionaries and the native problem, 7, 8; and disintegration of tribal life, 84-5, 98; missionary and other influences contrasted, 98-9; value of, as a factor in native problem, 98, 108-9, 110-11; the ideal of the missionary, 8, 95, 96, 204; partial success only to be expected, 95; primary importance of character building, 96, 99, 110; recognition of, and conservation of good in old life of natives, 96, 99; progress by adaptation to black man's needs rather than by imitation, 96, 99; growing recognition of the wider basis of work, 7, 8, 97, 99;

South African Native Commission quoted in support of, 110; native confidence in missionaries, 105-6; false generalizations regarding, 102-5, 111; the Amakolwa or Christian natives, 84, 100, 102-5; in education, 97, 110; overlapping of work, 322; successful work among Basutos, 100-1; encouragement of, in Basutoland, 250; in Cape Colony, 252, 255; Islamism, 111; for the future, 322.

Mont aux Sources, 25.

Morgen, a (2½ acres), 140.

Moshesh, Basuto chief, 25, 43, 100.

Mozambique, 170.

NATAL: physical features of, 22; immigration of white people, 5, 80; immigrants of 1850, 209; population of, 2, 43, 63, 130; birth-rate and mortality, 63; population, distribution of, 44, 251; standard of living, 44; wages (Europeans), 43; agriculture in, 44; agricultural possibilities of, 319-20. Education: number of white children without school instruction, 236. Labour, singular position in Natal, 159; domestic service in, 156-8, 166; evils of, 166-7, 229-30. Land question in: history, 126-9; native locations, 129-31, 140, 251; mission reserves, 132; Crown lands, 132-3; acquirement of land by private purchase, 133; non-occupied farms, 133-4; occupied farms, 135-6, 241; natives working in urban areas, 144; Government deputation to Transkei regarding, 143, 257; Administration, principles of early lawgivers, 241-3; responsible government (1893), 187; native law, 69, 77, 187; native preaching, 89; present neglect of native affairs, 14, 239, 240, 243-4, 263, 269; delegation of Parliamentary powers recommended: Natal

- Native Commission Report, quoted, 244-9; power of native chiefs in, 69; miscegenation, 224; definition of "Native," 302-3; Indian immigration, 285-94, *and see* Asiatics; coloured people and half-castes, 298-301.
- Natal: census quoted, Occupations of the natives, 174-5.
- Natal: Legislative Assembly and Council of, 13, 244.
- "Natal Mercury," quoted on native liquor question, 226.
- Natal Native Commission, 1906, xv; Report of, 11; quoted on: native preaching, 89; exempted natives, 103; education, 114; land tenure, 139, 152; administration, 41, 105, 189-91, 192-6, 199, 244-9; causes of rebellion of 1906, 189; immorality, 225; tribalism, 82; powers of chiefs, 252-3; representation, 268; definition of "Native," 303, 305-6.
- Natal Native Council, 92.
- Natal Native Trust, 129, 132.
- Natal Rebellion, 1906, 11, 189; causes leading up to, 185-9; Native Commission Report, quoted, 184-91.
- Nathan, Sir Matthew, 9, 118; suggests International Commission, 10.
- Native Administration Act of 1909, xvi, 10, 11.
- Native Affairs, Committees for the study of, formed, 11; Department, 186; Secretary for, 186, 245.
- Native Churches, 87-9, 91.
- Native, exploitation of the, 48, 211, 240.
- Native Law, 69, 77, 84, 145, 168-9, 187, 248; as to intoxicants, 199, 225; complaints of natives regarding, 41, 193-4, 196; disabilities of, 187, 197, 199, 304-5; the Legislature and, 248; anomalous position of half-castes, 300-9; definition of "native," 302-7.
- Native life: before the advent of the white man, 106, 154; and at present, 107; in early years of white man's government, 126-7; immigration of whites and deprivation of land, 128; commercial relations succeed the patriarchal, 128; shaken confidence in Government and Europeans, 105, 189, 191; effects of white influence on, 85, 90, 98, 107, 108, 170-1, 197; hooliganism, 227; street Arabism, 228.
- Native opinion, channels for expression of, *see under* Attitude of native.
- Native problem, the, 7-17, 19, 83-7, 90-1, 107-9, 112, 122, 149-51, 169, 171, 195-7, 203, 214-6; the franchise, 262-7; definition of, 19-21, 203; false generalizations regarding, 12, 109, 180; indifference to, 118, 239-40, 246, 311; fear of industrial competition with native, 120-9, 279-81; a forecast of the future if no change is made, 278-82; increased interest in, since South African Native Commission Report, 10-11; three factors in: tribalism, 71, 85, 98; white influence, 98; missionary work, 97-9 (*see those headings*); the basis of reconstruction, 99; the conservation of home life, 177, 149-51, 323; native confidence in us essential, 105; remedy must be gradual, 150; must meet racial peculiarities and needs, 109; agricultural improvement and the, 115-20, 151; our political system not understood, 270; for the future, 310-11, 314-18, 321-3, 326-7; international commission to investigate relations of black and white suggested, 10; qualifications requisite for dealing with the problem, 16-18, 271, 311. *See also under headings of sub-problems.*
- Native races, decline of, 55-8.
- Negroes of Southern United States, cited, 57, 58, 91, 110, 264;

- Booker Washington, cited, 268, 323.
- Newspapers, native, 185.
- New Zealand, life in, xix, 210; representation in, 268.
- Nostalgia, 3, 156, 175.
- OCCUPATIONS of natives: census of Natal quoted, 174.
- Olivier, Sir Sidney, 223.
- Orange Free State: area and population of native reservations, 140; position of black and white in, 237; definition of "Native," 303; number of children without school education, 236; agricultural possibilities of, 319.
- PANDA, Zulu chief, 43.
- Paris Evangelical Mission, 100-1.
- Physical deterioration, modern misgivings concerning, 208.
- Pietermaritzburg, 43, 135, 227.
- Pixley, the Rev. Mr., of the American Zulu Mission, 92.
- Police (in the Transkei and Natal), 38-9, 255.
- Poll-tax, 82, 130; native complaint regarding, 82, 194.
- Polygamy, 60-2, 103-4; Dr. G. M. Theal, cited, 61-2.
- Polynesian, the, 55, 56.
- Pondoland, 23, 48, 141, 146, *and see* Transkeian Territories.
- Pondos, the, 43.
- Poor whites problem: poor Dutch, 46-8, 219; Dutch and British compared, 222; direct result of coloured environment, 220, 221, 279, 281, 324; pioneers of North America and Australasia, cited, 219-25; hope for the children, 219, 324-5; parallel problem in Southern United States of America, 220-1, 279-80; Transvaal Indigency Commission report, quoted, 324; for the future, 325.
- Population: 2, 43, 217; of native reservations, 140; rapid growth of native, 148; *and see Territorial references.*
- Pretoria, 45, 46.
- Puberty, suspension of mental powers of natives at, 36-7.
- QADI tribe, 4, 92, 93.
- Qualifications necessary for a true judgment on native matters 16-18, 271, 311.
- RACE contact, effect on whites, 228, 240, *and see under* Environment.
- Race development, noble families of Britain, cited, 207.
- Race inequality, the white man's view, 198, 200-3.
- Randt, *see* Witwatersrand.
- Red Indian, cited, 55, 56.
- Religion: beliefs of the native, 40-1; and the moral standard of natives, 109-11; Islamism, 111.
- Religious organizations among natives, 87-9, 91; independence in religious affairs, 89-91, 204.
- Representation: South Africa Act: natives debarred from Union Parliament, 199; Provincial Councils open to natives, 199; Mr. Rubesana, member for Tembuland, cited, 199; South African Native Commission: quoted, 263, 265; cited, 268; recommendations of Natal Commission, 268; New Zealand system: the Maories cited, 268; equal representation considered, 265-7; partial representation inadequate, 269-70, 272; the native and the franchise, 270-2; Lord Selborne quoted on test for franchise, 272-3, 307-8; consideration of this test, 273-4; author's view, 274; for the future, 322-3; of Asiatics, recommendation regarding, 295; *and see under heading* Franchise.
- Repressionists, 109, 276.
- Reserves and Locations, 45, 140-1, 146 (*and see heading* Locations); Mission reserves, 132; native view that reserves are nearing limit of population, 151.

- Responsibility, sense of, fostered by tribalism, 77; effect of white influence on, 82-3.
- Rhodes, Cecil, quoted, 272.
- Ricksha pullers, 27; evils attendant on this work, 168-9.
- Roman Catholic Missions, 99, 100.
- Royal Colonial Institute, 235.
- Rubesana, Mr., native member, provincial council, Tembuland, cited, 199.
- SARGANT, E. B., cited, mental saturation, natives at adolescence, 37-8.
- Segregation, doctrine of, 216, 275-7; as a principle of early lawgivers, 196; as a future policy, 216, 310, 314-8, 326-7; and native policy of Cape Colony, 255.
- Selborne, Lord, quoted on Basutos' desire to be let alone, 205; cited, assimilation of race characteristics, 231-2; quoted, test for representation, 272, 307.
- Sheep farming, 47, 48.
- Shepstone, John, 275.
- Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, 186, 188, 242.
- Sloley, Mr., French Protestant Mission, 101.
- Somtseu, *see* Shepstone, Sir Theophilus.
- South Africa Act, 199, 245.
- South African Native Commission, Report of, 10; cited, 88; missionary work, 110, 117; enfranchisement, 263, 265; representation, 268; recommends restrictions on native purchase of land, 314-6; definition of "native," 303, 305.
- South African Union, anomalies of native law, 304.
- South African Union Parliament, 199, 244.
- South East Africa: area defined, 22-5; natural features, 22-5, 146; climate, 22, 24, 25, 52-5, 146, 214; the high veldt, 52-3, 319; the middle veldt, 52-4; the bush veldt, 52, 54; status of the white man in, 15; easy conditions of life in, 159-61, 206-11; the early settlers, 209; modern immigrants, 209; comparison with life in New Zealand, 210; effect of the environment on an industry, 212; political position in, 238-9; the franchise in, 260-1; indifference to native affairs, 239, 240, 269; a forecast of the future if no change is made, 278-82; policies and theories of Government: in Transvaal and Orange Free State, 237, 240-1; in Natal, 241-9, 255; in Basutoland, 249-51; in Cape Colony and Transkei, 251-8, 260-1; agriculture, 164; and agricultural possibilities, 319-20; Asiatics in, 285.
- Standerton, 47.
- Stanford, Col., Commission to Transkei on individual tenure, cited, 143, 254.
- Status of native, 237-8, 241, 260-3, 302-7.
- Strachan, Mr. Donald, of Umzimkulu, cited, 61.
- Sugar cultivation, 45.
- Swaziland, 24, 43, 48; the people, 24.
- "TAAL," the, 51.
- Taxation: hut- and poll-tax, 63, 130, 144, 194; licence fees, 144, 168, 169; in Basutoland, 250; in Transkei, 257, 258; the native attitude towards, 82, 137, 258; poll-tax and disintegration of tribalism, 82, 194; taxation to increase supply of labour, considered, 177-80.
- Tembus, the, 23, 43, 259.
- Theal, Dr. G. M., "The Yellow and Dark-skinned Races of South Africa," cited, 37; on the fecundity of the Abantu, cited, 61, 62.
- Theft, native idea of collective responsibility, 77.
- Togt boys, 169.
- Transkeian Territories—
Natural features, 23, 48; comparison with Basutoland, 146-7;

European population of, 48 ; law-abiding people, small number of police necessary, 38, 255 ; character of the people, 255 ; Administration, 123-4, 256-7 ; education, 124 ; power of native chiefs, 69 ; permissive local Government, 256, 258 ; functions and composition of District Native Councils, 123-4, 256-7 ; General Council, 124, 256-9 ; system investigated by a Commission from Natal, 257-60 ; keen interest of "raw" natives in management of local affairs, 257 ; the franchise, 304 ; Land question : native population, 140 ; reserve land originally held tribally, 141 ; modified European method of individual tenure introduced, 141, 254 ; inquiries into, 143, 254, 257 ; conditions of tenure, 142 ; system compared with that of Basutoland, 147 ; claim that natives occupy the land to greater advantage than would be possible to Europeans, 147 ; farming and agriculture, 124 ; labour for Europeans, 320 ; revenue, 257 ; native progress in the, 123-4, 143, 255 ; due to the policy of Cape Government, 143, 147, 254-5, 258 ; *and see under* Cape Colony.

Transvaal : climate and natural features, 24 ; population, 45, 240-1 ; Land question, 129 ; approximates to that of Natal, 145 ; area and population of native reservations, 140, 145 ; native tenure, 145 ; land occupied communally, 145 ; private locations, 145 ; area and native population of Crown lands, 145-6 ; the Grondwet, sharp distinction between black and white, 237, 241 ; position of black and white in, 241 ; definition of "native," 302 ; an organization to encourage white labour formed, 214-5 ; the poor Dutch, 46-8, 219-22 ; Indigency Com-

mission report, quoted, 324 ; children without school education, 236 ; Asiatics in, 293 ; agricultural possibilities of, 319.

Trappists, the, 99.

Tribalism—

Tribal life : the chief and his body-guard, 65 ; devotion to the Royal House, 66 ; attachment to tribe and chief, 66, 70 ; difference of outlook : contrast between white and black, 66-7, 68, 74-5, 82.

Tribal system : main features of, 67-72 ; of Zulu and Basuto, minor distinctions in, 67 ; the family, 67-8 ; devolution, 68 ; discipline, 68 ; submission to the chief, 70 ; power and responsibilities of chiefs, 70-1, 72, 78-9 ; varying power of, 70 ; public opinion in, 70, 71 ; counsellors, 71 ; land, 71, 131, 133 ; witchcraft, 41, 72, 75 ; murder, 72 ; food, 73 ; importance of right appreciation of, 71-2 ; native view of, 72 ; advantages and disadvantages of, 76-7, 252 ; explanatory of characteristics, 73-4, 76, 78 ; effect on morals, 76 ; sense of responsibility fostered by, 77 ; justification of, is in the character of the people, 79 ; potent factor in conservation of character, 98 ; effect of white influence on, 79-83, 86, 98 ; invasion of individualistic ideas, 67, 81-2 ; disintegration of, inevitable, 242, 252 ; evidences of disintegration, 79, 82, 136, 193-5, 252-3, 279 ; missionary influence as a disintegrating force, 84-5, 98 ; must be conserved until people ready for some other way, 252 ; recommendations of Natal Native Commission, 252-3 ; provision for emancipation from (Natal), 242, 243 ; Cape Colony policy regarding tribalism in, 252, 253, 254 ; Basutoland, tribal government in, 250.

Tugela, river, 45, 93.

- Tyaka, 6, 23, 43, 70, 86, 195 *et passim*.
- UMHLATUZI, river, 65.
- Umkomanzi, river, 131.
- Umlazi, native location, 3, 251.
- Umtamvuna, river, 23.
- Umvoti district, 135.
- Umzimkulu, river, 23.
- United States, emigration of natives to, 113; *and see under* America.
- Utrecht district, 44, 135.
- VAALPENS Kaffirs, 24.
- Veldt, the, 52-4, 319.
- Vryheid district, 44, 135.
- WAGES, 43, 135, 169, 315.
- Wakkerstroom, 47.
- Washington, Booker, cited, 268, 323.
- Water, conservation of, 140-1, 151.
- Waterberg, 48, 145.
- Wattle tree cultivation, 44, 319.
- Weapons, native, 26.
- Wesleyans, 87; secession of the Rev. J. M. Dwane and his followers, 88.
- White influence, effects of, 79-86, 90-1, 92-4, 107-8.
- White man, effect of the environment on the, *see under* Environment.
- White Kaffirs, 291, 292.
- Witchcraft, 5, 41, 72, 75.
- Witwatersrand, 45, 98, 170-3, 278, 290; population, 45; standard of living, 45; undesirables, 45, 46; labour agents, 173, *and see under* Labour.
- Women's work, 100; cotton crops and employment, 119; female domestic servants the exception, 166; scruples and difficulties in way of employing female labour, 167; census figures as to, 174.
- Wood, J. Medley, 4.
- XOSAS, the, 23, 259.
- ZOUTPANSBERG, 48, 145.
- Zulus: and Basutos compared, 26, 43; physiognomy of Royal House, cited, 27; under Tyaka's rule, 6, 23, 43, 70, 86, 195.
- Zululand: natural features of, 22-3; area of, 45; population of, 44; Basutos in, 23; power of the native chiefs in, 69-70; native reservations in, 45; Land question, 129, 140; miscegenation, 224; native law, position of half-castes, 304.
- Zululand Native Trust, 45.
- Zwartkop, native location, 251.

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